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Matilda McCulloch.

THE SATIRES OF JUVENAL

DECIMI IUNII IUVENALIS
SATURAE XIII

THE SATIRES OF JUVENAL

EDITED FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS
WITH NOTES, INTRODUCTION, AND APPENDICES

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PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION

THIS edition of Juvenal's Satires, originally published in 1883, was intended for the higher Forms in Schools, and also for students at the Universities. The Notes, while taking account of any grammatical difficulties or peculiarities, deal more especially with the historical, social, and personal allusions with which every Satire, and almost every line, is crowded. These explanations, to be consistent with the size and scope of the book, have been briefly given; but as the latest and best authorities have been consulted, it is hoped that the information contained in them will be sufficient to make the text clear and intelligible, and also to excite some interest in young scholars for the social life at Rome under the early Empire. References to other classical authors are from want of space sparingly introduced, and are mainly confined to Horace, Martial, and Pliny. With regard to Martial, indeed, the light which he and Juvenal mutually throw upon one another is so instructive as to have justified, had space permitted, many more references than are given.

The new edition claims to be an improvement upon the former one in several respects. In the first place, the Introduction has been completely re-written. It now contains a somewhat elaborate discussion and criticism of the data for reconstructing Juvenal's life, which it is hoped will not be without interest. It also more briefly discusses the question as to Juvenal's place as a moralist, and how far his Satires really reflect the life of his times; while his rhetorical and declamatory tendencies are treated of in connection with Ribbeck's ingenious but hyper-critical theory. Further, an account, which it is hoped will be found useful, has been given of the MSS. of Juvenal, and especially of the importance of *P.* and the so-called *Florilegium Sangallense.* An *apparatus criticus,* containing all the more important differences of reading, has also been inserted at the bottom of each page. With regard to the text itself, this edition may fairly claim to be the only one published in England which contains all the recent improvements which during the last few years have been made owing to the labours of Beer and Bücheler. An idea of the number and value of these improvements will be gained from the list given on page lxiii.

The Notes, too, have been submitted to a careful revision; many additional references have been given; and while the more difficult passages have received fuller treatment in the light of recent suggestions, about 20 pages of fresh matter have been inserted.

The general result of the changes made in this edition will be, it is hoped, that while the book will

be not less useful than before for Schools and for candidates for Pass-Examinations, it will be found also a useful help in preparing for Honour Moderation at Oxford, most of the new matter having been incorporated from Lectures given to candidates for this School. The best men will, it need hardly be said, read Professor Mayor's admirable commentary, to which every smaller and less ambitious edition must be indebted at every turn, but to the large number who cannot spare so much time as that involves on a single book, it is hoped that this edition will now give all the needful assistance.

Lists of the principal authorities used will be found in their proper places in the Introduction on pages lv and lxii.

E. G. H.

OXFORD, *February* 1890.

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INTRODUCTION

THE LIFE OF JUVENAL

A CLEAR account of Juvenal's life is one of the literary problems which probably can never be satisfactorily solved. At first sight, indeed, the task might seem anything but hopeless, because the materials at hand are to all appearance abundant, but a closer examination shows the evidence to be so conflicting and so uncertain that whatever reconstruction and combination we may arrive at of the data to be considered, the result must be allowed to contain a large hypothetical element. The evidence which we have to examine may be divided into four heads—(1) a number of *Lives of Juvenal*, all of them of uncertain age and authorship, which are found prefixed or appended to the various MSS. of the *Satires*; (2) numerous scattered references in the *Satires* themselves, some more definite, some less, throwing light either on the facts of Juvenal's life, or on the dates at which the *Satires* were composed; (3) references in other writers, such as Martial, Sidonius Apollinaris, Joannes Malalas; and (4) a dedicatory inscription found at Aquinum. Not the least important pieces of evidence for their intrinsic value, and by far preponderating over all the rest in quantity, are the *Lives*, which it has

perhaps been the fashion with most editors unduly to depreciate. Of these no fewer than thirteen distinct versions are found in the numerous MSS. of the *Satires*. As a rule each MS. has only one of these, but in some few cases, and especially in the later MSS., several of them are inserted, one after the other, either in the same or in different hands. Although no two of these *Lives* are exactly the same, it is possible to reduce the thirteen to five groups, the different members of each being closely akin to one another, and differing more or less widely from the other groups.[1] As there is no English edition of Juvenal which contains these *Lives*, and as the value of any inferences drawn from them can be better tested by actual comparison of the various statements in their context, I do not think it waste of space to give in full a type of each group. In order as far as possible to give an idea of the variation within the groups themselves, I insert the chief variations from what seems to be the original version of each group in brackets. As the *Lives* have hitherto been best known from Jahn's edition of 1851, who, however, only gives seven of them, I have arranged the groups in such a way that Jahn's order may not be interfered with.

Group I. consists of two *Lives* (Jahn i. and ii.), differing very slightly from one another, though the second is a somewhat amplified version. The first of these, being given in Valla's edition, and therefore presumably from Valla's lost MS. (see below, p. lviii.), and also in *P.*, though in a later hand than the Scholia, as well as in a London MS. of the ninth century (*Cod. Brit. Mus.* add. 15,600), is probably the oldest of the

[1] See Dürr, *Das Leben Juvenals*, p. 3 foll., Ulm, 1888.

Lives, an inference which has also been drawn from its purer Latinity.

Iunius Iuvenalis, libertini locupletis incertum filius an alumnus [ex Aquino Volscorum oppido oriundus temporibus Claudii Neronis] ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit animi magis causa quam quod scholae se aut foro praepararet. [Deinde ad poeticen se applicavit, et postquam diu tacuit, uberiori vitiorum iam gliscente contagione ab indignatione incepit: "Semper ego auditor tantum."] Dehinc paucorum versuum satyra non absurde composita in Paridem [Domitiani] pantomimum [et aulae histrionem] semestribus militiolis tumentem poetamque [P. Statium] hoc genus scripturae industrie excoluit et tamen bene diu ne modico quidem auditorio quicquam committere est ausus, mox magna frequentia tantoque successu bis aut ter auditus est, ut ea quoque quae prima fecerat inferciret novis scriptis: "quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio; tu Camerinos et Bareas, tu nobilium magna atria curas? Praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos." Erat tunc in deliciis aulae [histrio] multique fautorum eius quotidie provehebantur. Venit ergo Iuvenalis in suspicionem quasi tempora [praesentia] figura notasset, ac statim per honorem militiae quamquam octogenarius urbe summotus est, missusque ad praefecturam cohortis in extrema Aegypti parte tendentis. Id supplicii genus placuit ut levi atque ioculari delicto par esset. Verum intra brevissimum tempus angore ac taedio periit.

Group II. contains four *Lives* (among them Jahn iii.)

Iuvenalis iste Aquinates fuit, id est de Aquino oppido temporibus Neronis Claudii imperatoris. Prima aetate siluit, ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit, unde

et quasi diu tacens ab indignatione coepit sic dicens: "Semper ego auditor tantum." Fecit quosdam versus in Paridem pantomimum, qui tum apud imperatorem plurimum poterat. Hac de causa venit in suspicionem quasi ipsius [istius *Jahn*] imperatoris tempora notasset, a quo sub obtentu militiae pulsus est urbe: [tandem Romam cum veniret et Martialem suum non videret] ita tristitia et angore periit [anno aetatis suae altero et octuagesimo].

Group III. contains one *Life* (Jahn iv.), first published by Ruperti.

Marcus Iunius Iuvenalis, ex municipio Aquinati, ordinis, ut fertur, libertinorum, Romae literis operam dedit. Declamavit non mediocri fama, ut ipse scribit: "Et nos consilium dedimus Sullae." Extremis Domitiani temporibus missus in exilium expertus est quantum unius histrionis ira valeret. Exulavit in Aegypto sub specie honoris nec inde a novis principibus revocatus est. In exilio ampliavit satyras et pleraque mutavit, invehiturque in cineres Domitiani. Decessit longo senio confectus exul Antonino Pio imperatore.

Group IV. contains two *Lives* (Jahn v. and vi.)

Cum ex Aquino municipio Romam se contulisset et ad dignitatem equestris ordinis pervenire sua virtute meruisset, ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit et in Paridem pantomimum, qui in deliciis apud [Traianum] imperatorem habebatur, quaedam carmina fecit, quae deinde inseruit in eam satyram, "Et spes et ratio." Sunt autem haec: "Quod non dant . . . Philomela tribunos." Quae cum ad aures [Traiani] tyranni venissent, sui temporis vitia carpi intellexit. Qua ex re commotus, nulla alia occasione reperta struendae mortis in

Iuvenalem, sub honoris praetextu fecit eum praefectum militis contra Scotos, qui bellum contra Romanos moverant, ut ibi interficeretur Iuvenalis. Sed tamen paulo post, ut sciret sibi iratum principem, in codicillis suis ad eum in exercitu mittendis inseruit. "Et te Philomela promovit." Quo effectum est ut ipse animo consternatus ex mentis aegritudine diem suum obierit.

Group V. contains four *Lives* (among them Jahn vii.) I give the one discovered by Rühl in a Harley MS. at the British Museum.

Iunius Iuvenalis Aquinas, id est de Aquino oppido oriundus et natus, qui ad mediam fere aetatem satirice declamavit et in Paridem pantomimum apud aulam imperatoris Domitiani sese in deliciis habentem quosdam versus non absurde composuit hos scilicet: "Quod non dant . . . Philomela tribunos." Paris ista carmina irrecitata emebat et suum titulum apponebat, et pro suis recitabat. Hi versus per aliquantulum temporis aures imperatoris latuerunt. Sed postea cum hoc opus aggrederetur Iuvenalis, occasione accepta in quadam satira, hac scilicet: "Et spes et ratio;" satis competenter eosdem versus interseruit. Quibus publicatis Domitianus sua tempora sentiens denotari, pudore et ira correptus qualiter Iuvenalem deprimeret apud se excogitavit, sed cum tantae auctoritatis virum publice punire non auderet, militibus Romanis in extremas partes Aegypti tendentibus, in expeditionem quasi sub obtentu honoris, sub dignitatis simulatione illum praefecit, ut si aliquo modo periret, sub specie dilectionis animi malignitas compleretur. Iuvenalis vero hoc opus primum peregit. Unde in ultima satira multa de militaribus commodis scripsit, ut sic in exercitum ituros animaret.

Deinde hoc opere completo eo profectus tandem causa profectionis comperta taedio et angore vitam finivit.

To these *Lives* one more is to be added, recently found by Dr. Dürr in a MS. in the Palazzo Barberini at Rome (*Cod. Barberinus*, viii. 18), of which the first sentence is important.

Iunius Iuvenalis Aquinas Iunio Iuvenale patre, matre vero Septumuleia ex Aquinati municipio Claudio Nerone et L. Antistio consulibus natus est. Sororem habuit Septumuleiam quae Fuscino nupsit.

Now that there is some close relationship between these *Lives* is evident from the large number of similar or identical phrases occurring in all or most of them, and that some of the *Lives* were copied from others within the same group is quite possible. At the same time, the differences between the various groups are too great for us to suppose that any one of the extant *Lives* was the origin of the rest. That some of the statements, especially those which give reasons rather than facts, may have been the invention of mediæval grammarians is probable, and also that others were derived from references in the *Satires*; but after deducting all these there remains a residuum of definite and precise statements—some found in all the *Lives*, others in several of them—some of which receive indirect confirmation from other sources, and all of which in all probability date back to some common authority not at any rate later in date than the Scholia found in *Codex P.*, which, as will be seen later, belong probably to the fourth or fifth century. This is substantially the view of Dr. Dürr, who, in a very able monograph on the Life of Juvenal, subjects the *Lives* to a very thorough criticism, and

shows how a biography written from ancient tradition by a grammarian of the third or fourth century might be dealt with by later scholars in such a way as to take the form of the various groups given above. On the one hand, the original matter would be abbreviated by a process of selection, and in this way statements originally unconnected would be brought into a close and misleading relation to one another; while, on the other hand, the narrative would almost certainly be gradually decked out with various interpolations, some being pure inventions, others more or less ingeniously pieced in from the *Satires*. No doubt the attempt to rediscover the kernel of the original biography, and so to reconstruct it by a process of analysis and synthesis, is not without its difficulties and uncertainties, and the result, as I have already said, must be partly hypothetical; but with the indirect aid of the other sources of evidence, the task is not an impossible one.

In order to prepare the way for a reconstruction of the Life, I will first of all put down in order the statements which, because of their repetition in all or most of the *Lives*, or because of their definite and precise character, would seem to be taken from the original account, and then I will consider how far these are confirmed or at least rendered probable by other kinds of evidence.

1. Juvenal was born at Aquinum (12 *Lives*).

2. His father or foster-father was a freedman (4 *Lives*).

3. He was born in Nero's reign (4 *Lives*).

4. Till the middle period of his life he practised declamation (8 *Lives*).

5. He composed some verses under Domitian against Paris (12 *Lives*).

6. He was sent as praefect against the Scotch as a punishment (2 *Lives*).

7. He was sent under the pretence of a military command to Egypt (8 *Lives*).

8. This was at the age of eighty (3 *Lives*).

9. He was not banished at the time he wrote the verses, but after he had inserted them in the seventh Satire (4 *Lives*).

10. He died in exile of mortification and grief (7 *Lives*).

1. Birthplace

That Juvenal was born at Aquinum, a colony founded by the triumvirs, is certain not only from the consensus of the *Lives*, but also from Sat. iii. 318-321, and from the inscription, in which Juvenal is mentioned, found on the site of Aquinum. See p. xxvii.

2. Juvenal's Position in Life

That Juvenal was the son or adopted son of a freedman is probable enough in itself, though it is not strongly attested. It, however, perhaps derives some probability from his Gentile name Junius. This was, of course, the name of two distinguished Gentes—one patrician and one plebeian—to neither of which Juvenal, who writes throughout as the representative of the middle classes, could have been related by blood. But if his father had been a freedman of some one belonging to the Gens, he would on his emancipation take the Gentile name, just as Cicero's freedman Tiro became M. Tullius Tiro. It is a

fact worth noting that Decimus, Juvenal's praenomen, is common in the plebeian Gens of the Junii (see Liv. viii. 12, x. 43, xxxiv. 45; *Epit.* 56, etc.), and it would be the custom for a freedman of a Decimus Junius to take his patron's praenomen. Juvenal himself, as the son of a freedman, would be *ingenuus*, and therefore the tradition presents no difficulties inconsistent with what we shall see to have been his military and political career. The statement that his father was *locuples* is perhaps borne out by the fact that Juvenal owned a little farm at Tibur (Sat. xi. 65; cf. also vi. 57), and passed through the municipal *cursus honorum* at Aquinum; while if, as two *Lives* state, he attained to equestrian rank, he must have possessed the minimum of 400,000 sesterces.

3, 4. The Dates of Juvenal's Birth and Writings

Four of the *Lives* tell us that Juvenal was born in the reign of Nero—one gives the exact year ("Claudio Nerone et L. Antistio consulibus"), 55 A.D.; while several of them say that he was over eighty at the time of his death. I believe with Dürr that 55 A.D. is the correct date, and that his newly-discovered Life has derived this statement from some ancient source which has since been lost. In the first place, it is difficult to account for so precise a statement on any other supposition; and, in the next place, it will be found to agree with all the dates furnished by the *Satires* themselves, and through these with the almost unanimous statement of the *Lives* that he did not publish any Satires till middle age ("ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit"). The *Satires* them-

selves are divided according to the earliest MSS. into five books, and there is internal evidence for supposing both that this division dates from Juvenal's own time, and also that, like the *Letters of Pliny*, the *Epigrams of Martial*, and probably the *Histories of Tacitus*, the books were published separately and in their present order.

Book I. contains Sat. i.-v. That this was published after Domitian's death is proved by the last lines of Sat. iv.; that it was published after 100 A.D. is proved by the reference to Marius Priscus in Sat. i. 49, who was condemned in the beginning of that year (Plin. *Ep.* ii. 11); that it was published after 105 A.D., the probable date of the death of Aquilius Regulus, may with probability be inferred if Regulus is the arch-informer mentioned in Sat. i. 33-56;[1] that it was not published much later than this is shown by the fact that the condemnation of Marius was still comparatively recent when Sat. viii. was published (see line 120).

Book II. contains Sat. vi., and was probably published shortly after 115 A.D., an inference drawn from lines 406-411—

> Instantem regi Armenio Parthoque cometen
> prima videt, famam rumoresque illa recentis
> excipit ad portas, quosdam facit: isse Niphatem
> in populos magnoque illic cuncta arva teneri
> diluvio, nutare urbes, subsidere terras, etc.—

which contain a clear reference to the Parthian expedition of Trajan which commenced in 112 A.D.; to the comet

[1] That this is so is, I think, rendered very probable by the way in which Pliny speaks of Regulus, "omnium bipedum nequissimus." "Cuncti detestantur, oderunt: curatur a multis, timetur a pluribus," etc., *Ep.* i. 5, 14-15.

which it is known was visible in 115 A.D.; and to the terrible earthquake which visited the East, and especially Antioch, in the same year (Dio Cass. 68, 24). Line 205 also in this Satire—"cum lance beata Dacicus et scripto radiat Germanicus auro"—contains a reference to Trajan's title of Dacicus, which was not conferred on him till 103 A.D., after his first Dacian war.

Book III. contains Sat. vii.-ix., and the date of its publication depends mainly on the question as to who the Caesar is, addressed in the opening lines of Sat. vii. I have little doubt myself that it was Hadrian. With Professor Nettleship's contention that it was Domitian I must with all deference disagree. The reference to Marius Priscus in Sat. viii. shows that the book was published at any rate after Domitian's death, while even if, as Professor Nettleship supposes with very little probability, it was written though not published under that emperor, the dedication to Domitian at the beginning would most certainly not have been published under Trajan. More is to be said in favour of Trajan, of whom Pliny says in the *Panegyric*, § 47, "sub te spiritum et sanguinem receperint studia" (cf. also *Ep.* iii. 18); but the *studia* meant by Pliny are oratory and philosophy, whereas Juvenal uses *studia* here in the sense of poetry. Now Hadrian, as we know from Spartian (*vit. Hadr.* 14, 8), was *poematum studiosissimus*. An argument, however, of greater importance is that these complimentary lines were evidently published at the beginning of some reign; they plainly imply that a happier time for poets is just going to begin, exactly as the passage quoted from Pliny was in Pliny's first public utterance in Trajan's reign. As the reference to Marius, and the

probability that Book III. would be later than Book II., preclude us from assigning it to the beginning of Trajan's reign, I think we must fix its date soon after Hadrian's accession, and no doubt before his departure from Rome on his first progress, *i.e.* between 118 and 121 A.D.

Book IV., containing Sat. x.-xii., presents no chronological data except that in xi. 203 he speaks of himself as an old man, but, as all the other Books do, we may fairly place its date somewhere between that of Book III. and Book V.

Book V. (Sat. xiii.-xvi.) contains two references to the year 127 A.D.—(1) in xiii. 18, where Juvenal speaks of his friend Calvinus as sixty years old, and born *Fonteio consule*, the Fonteius in question being almost certainly Fonteius Capito, who was consul in 67 A.D. (see note *ad loc.*); (2) Sat. xv. 27 mentions the quarrel between the Tentyrites and Ombites as happening "nuper consule Iunco," *i.e.* in 127 A.D. when an Aemilius Juncus was consul. Accordingly, if we allow for the word *nuper* a space of from three to eight years, the Satire would have been written between 130 and 135 A.D. Further than this we may notice that in Sat. i. 25 Juvenal speaks of his own youth as a time long past; that in Sat. xi. 209 he is an old man who likes to bask in the sun; that the whole tone of his address to Calvinus in the beginning of Sat. xiii. is that of an older man to a younger, and Calvinus as we have seen was sixty; and lastly, that there are distinct traces of senility in some of the later Satires, as compared with the earlier ones, and especially in the two last;—from the internal evidence of the *Satires* themselves, therefore, we should assume that Juvenal began to write when he was by no means a

young man, between 101 and 106 A.D., and that he continued writing till about 130 A.D. when he was distinctly an old man. Now this agrees perfectly with the statement in the *Lives* that he was born in 55 A.D., that he did not begin to write before middle age, and that he lived to be over eighty.

5. The early Verses said to have been composed against Paris

That the statement about these verses rests on an old tradition is clear from the consensus of the *Lives*, but I think it is almost equally clear that it rests upon a mistaken inference from the lines in Sat vii. There Juvenal, according to his custom, is alluding to present abuses, though using the names of a past time. But as the lines were probably in some way connected with Juvenal's banishment, special interest was from early times attached to them, and an appearance of greater reality given to them by the story that they were composed during the lifetime of the Paris referred to,[1] and then afterwards inserted in Sat. vii., a thing extremely improbable in itself, especially as the fact that Paris was killed in 83 A.D. would imply an interval of about forty years between the original verses and their insertion in Sat. vii.

6, 7. Juvenal's military Service and Banishment

The question of the banishment is a threefold one. (1) Was he banished at all? (2) if so, by whom? and

[1] That this was the Paris of Domitian's reign is proved by the connection with Statius.

(3) where? The fact of the banishment seems to me to be as well established as any other fact of Juvenal's life. All the *Lives* attest it, and Sidonius Apollinaris (428-484 A.D.) certainly alludes to Juvenal in the lines (ix. 267 foll.)—

> Non qui tempore Caesaris secundi
> Aeterno incoluit Tomos reatu
> Non qui consimili deinde casu
> Ad vulgi tenuem strepentis auram
> Irati fuit histrionis exul,

while the fourth line seems to show that he did not derive the story from any of the *Lives* as we know them, and if so, he is an independent authority. But by whom was the punishment inflicted? Some say by Domitian, but a number of obvious arguments may be urged against this. (1) The only reason adduced for connecting it with Domitian is the story of the lines composed against Paris. This I have disposed of above, and besides, this would necessitate the date of the banishment being placed not later than 83 A.D. (2) Most of the *Lives* say that he remained in exile till his death, and Sidonius Apollinaris in comparing his fate to Ovid's ("aeterno . . . reatu" and "consimili casu") seems to imply the same thing. But to suppose that he remained in exile during Trajan's and Hadrian's reigns, the period when he wrote his *Satires*, is absurd. (3) The *Satires*, and especially the first Book, clearly indicate that Juvenal knew Rome well during at any rate the last half of Domitian's reign. (4) We know from Martial, vii. 24 and 91, that Juvenal was in Rome in 91 or 92 A.D.,[1] and from xii. 18 that he

[1] Friedländer shows that Book vii. of the *Epigrams* was published at the end of 92 (*Sittengesch.* vol. iii. p. 432).

was also there in 101 or 102 A.D.[1] (5) The first and, as we have seen, probably the earliest of the *Lives* distinctly states that he was not banished at the time when he composed the first verses against Paris, but by some later emperor—"quasi tempora praesentia figura notasset." Others think it was Trajan, and adduce in favour of the supposition the fact that according to Dio Cassius (68, 10) Trajan had a favourite named Pylades, who was an actor. But (1) supposing that Juvenal alluded to him under the name of Paris in Sat. vii., as is quite possible, this, as will be seen below, by no means proves that he was banished by Trajan; (2) Sat. vi., which must have been written in Rome, was not written till after Trajan had left Rome for the last time for the East, and that Juvenal was in Rome during the earlier part of Trajan's reign is proved by Book I. of the *Satires*; (3) if Juvenal was banished under Trajan, and remained in exile till his death, this would imply that Sat. vii.-xvi. were published in exile, which is quite incredible; and (4) the act is quite inconsistent with all we know of Trajan's character. On the other hand, if he was banished by Hadrian, all seems consistent. His eightieth year would be 135 A.D., a time when, as we know from Spartian, Hadrian committed a number of cruel, arbitrary, and eccentric acts, quite in keeping with his supposed conduct to Juvenal. Again the poet, if banished at that time, would naturally die in exile. Nor is it hard to suggest a reason for the exile, as indeed we are bound to do, not entirely inconsistent with the statement of the *Lives* and the phrase of Sidonius Apollinaris, "histrionis exul." The line of the latter poet—"ad vulgi tenuem

[1] Book xii. was published from Bilbilis in 102 A.D.

strepentis auram"—may perhaps help us to an explanation. That Hadrian towards the close of his reign had some favourite actor in the place of Antinous, like Paris under Domitian, and Pylades under Trajan, is extremely probable though not attested, and it is certain that such a favourite, if he existed, would exercise the sort of patronage which Juvenal satirises in Sat. vii. Quite conceivably the populace on some public occasion, in the amphitheatre or the circus, would mark their indignation at this by shouts and exclamations, and very likely by repeating amid hisses the well-known lines of Juvenal. If this was done, Juvenal's innocence of any intention to offend would probably not have stood in the way of his being made a scapegoat, and punished for lines written some fifteen years earlier. This is of course a mere hypothesis, but it at any rate answers to all the facts, and is certainly suggested by the words of Sidonius Apollinaris. There remains the question as to the place of exile, and its supposed connection with a military command. Two of the *Lives* say distinctly that he was sent to Britain *contra Scotos;* the rest say that he was sent to Egypt; all say that he was sent under pretence of military service, most of them as *praefectus cohortis* How are we to reconcile these conflicting statements, and account for the absurd story that an octogenarian poet without previous military experience should be put in command of a cohort on a distant frontier? Would not the following supposition account for the facts? Juvenal as a young man may have entered on a military career, and have been sent in the course of time to Britain as praefect of a cohort. At a later time in his old age he may have been banished by Hadrian to Egypt. These

two episodes in Juvenal's career, though neither of them absolutely forgotten, may in the course of a century or two have become confused, so that on the one hand the exile may have been connected with the praefecture in Britain and the mention of Egypt dropped, as in the *Lives* of Group IV., or on the other hand the praefecture may have been connected (perhaps partly owing to Sat. vii.) with the exile in Egypt and the mention of Britain dropped, as in the other Groups. Fortunately, however, what I have suggested as a supposition is supported by evidence of the strongest kind, and is, indeed, placed almost beyond doubt by the inscription already alluded to (*C. I. L.* x. 5382, or Orelli-Henzen, 5599).

[Cere]ri Sacrum
[D. Iu]nius Iuvenalis
[praef] coh. [I] Delmatarum
II [vir] quinq. flamen
divi Vespasiani
vovit dedicav[it q]ue
sua pec.

Now this inscription throws a good deal of light on the military and municipal career of Juvenal. We will take the former first. Two things are proved at once—(1) that Juvenal served as praefect or tribune (the reading is uncertain) of a cohort of Dalmatians (the number again being uncertain); and (2) that Juvenal came home again to Aquinum from this service, for he himself had the slab in question put up. This, therefore, can have had nothing to do with the exile, in the course of which he is said to have died. But more information than this can be gained from the stone. There were altogether seven *cohortes Delmatarum*. Of these the sixth and

seventh were stationed in Mauretania during the first two centuries, but the partly illegible number on the inscription is certainly not one of these. The first cohort is proved by a military diploma (*C. I. L.* vii. 1195) to have been in Britain in 124 A.D., and also under Antoninus Pius (*ib.* 400), being stationed at Uxellodunum in Cumberland. The second cohort was stationed in the second century at Magnae, one of the stations along Hadrian's wall (*ib.* 760), and was still there at the date referred to by the Notitia, *i.e.* about the end of the second century. The fourth cohort is proved by a military diploma (*ib.* 1194) to have been in Britain in 103 A.D.; and as Hübner points out, there is the greatest probability that all five cohorts came over to Britain with the *legio* 9th Hispana, which was itself a Pannonian legion previously to its removal to Britain by Claudius (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 32). Three (I. II. IIII.) out of the five at any rate were certainly there early in the second century, and had probably been there for some time previously, and the reading on the stone is almost certainly I. or II. It is therefore in the highest degree probable that the tradition that Juvenal was sent as praefect of a cohort *contra Scotos* depends on historical grounds, though not connected, as in the Life, with his exile. But knowing that Juvenal served in this military capacity, we are in a position to draw some further inferences. The position of praefect of an auxiliary cohort was a definite grade in a definite military career, and could be reached only in one of two ways. It might be gained by enlisting as a common soldier, and then rising gradually to be a centurion, then a primipilus, and then a praefect of a cohort. It was, however,

extremely rare for a higher rank than that of primipilus to be reached in this way, and it would mean a whole life devoted to the service, and this is quite inconsistent with what we know of Juvenal. But there was another way. Young men of free birth, but intended for the equestrian rather than the senatorial *cursus honorum*, were allowed under the empire to enter the service as centurions (cf. Sat. xiv. 193, "vitem posce libello," and Plin. *Ep*. vi. 25, 3). They would then, if helped by any influence, successively pass through the posts of *primipilus*, *praefectus cohortis*, *tribunus legionis*, and *praefectus alae*. (For instances see Wilmanns, 1249*b*, 691, 694, etc., and cf. Suet. *Claud*. 25.) These four posts constituted what was called the *equestris militia*, because the first of them was a qualification for equestrian rank, if the necessary census was possessed and the emperor chose to confer the honour; and those who had passed through them were styled *a militiis* or *militiis equestribus exornatus* (*C. I. L*. viii. 9760) or *equestribus militiis functus* (Plin. *Ep*. vii. 25, 2). They were then qualified to pass through the various procuratorial posts in the emperor's service, with the possibility of attaining at last the *summa equestris dignitas*, viz. the *praefectura praetorii* (see Wilmanns, 690, 691, 1249*b*, 1266). This was a career quite appropriate to Juvenal's rank in life, and on this no doubt he embarked soon after attaining the military age, *i.e.* seventeen. As to where he served as centurion we have no information,[1] and we can only hypothetically fix

[1] Juvenal's references to foreign lands are probably merely literary. Even the reference to the breasts of the women in Meroe, which is perhaps the most realistic reference, may be

the date at which he was promoted to the praefecture and sent to Britain. We have, however, a *terminus ante quem* in the fact that, as we know from Martial, he had settled at Rome at any rate by 91 A.D., and probably for a few years earlier, while between the close of his military career and his settlement at Rome his municipal career at Aquinum, which must have occupied four or five years, has to be placed. Supposing, therefore, that he settled in Rome in 88 or 89, his military career may have closed in 83 or 84. A further clue is perhaps offered by the *Lives*, which say, "fecit eum praefectum cohortis contra Scotos qui bellum contra Romanos moverant." Now the only war with the Scotch which we know of at this period was that under Agricola, who was in Britain from 78 to 84, and who first advanced into Scotland in 81 (Tac. *Agric.* 23). We may then with some probability suppose that Juvenal was promoted to the second stage in the *equestris militia* in 81 A.D., and that he returned home with Agricola in 84. Various references to Britain, some of them almost too definite to be mere literary reminiscences, are found scattered about in the *Satires*. Thus in ii. 159-161 he mentions the ancient name of Ireland, Iuverna, which is not known to Tacitus in the *Agricola*, and speaks of the recent conquest of the Orcades (cf. Tac. *Agric.* 10) and the short British night; in iv. 127 he mentions the British war-chariots, and in 141 the oysters of Rutupiae; in x. 14 the British whales; in xiv. 196 the British tribe of the Brigantes; in xv. 111 he refers

explained in this way, as we know from Pliny (*N. H.* xxix. 6) that explorers were sent out by Nero to Ethiopia, who brought back a report of their observations.

to the fact of rhetorical training having reached Britain (cf. Tac. *Agric.* 21, "ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent"), while it perhaps deserves notice that in xv. 124 he uses the form Brittones instead of Britanni, the former being as a rule used only in military inscriptions, the latter in literature (see *Ephem. Epigr.* v. 177). With regard to the alleged banishment to Egypt, on which there is so great a consensus of evidence in the *Lives*, we have already seen that this probably happened under Hadrian, and without any connection with military service. That Egypt was, as the *Lives* say, the place of exile is rendered extremely probable by Sat. xv., which was certainly written near the end of his life (some little time after 127 A.D. at earliest), and of which line 45 alone conclusively proves that Juvenal had himself been in Egypt, while the whole Satire, with its local story, reference to local usages, absence of references to Roman life, want of general interest, and general feebleness, is just the sort of production which an old man of eighty, banished from all his favourite resorts, might solace and amuse himself by writing. Sat. xvi. too, a sort of reminiscence, garrulous and feeble, of the poet's earlier military life, was probably written at the same time, and these two products of his exile were then published after his death in the reign of Antoninus Pius, together with xiii. and xiv., which were written in Rome before his banishment.

Juvenal's Municipal Career

Just as the office of praefect of the cohort of Dalmatians, attested by the inscription, presupposes a previous military career, so does the office of *duovir quinquennalis*, which

Juvenal, according to the same evidence, held at his native town Aquinum, imply the tenure of other offices preparatory to this. The duoviri were the highest magistrates in the municipia and coloniae of Italy and the western provinces; those of every fifth year, viz. that in which the local census was taken, being called *duoviri quinquennales.* There is some reason to suppose that one of these fifth years would have fallen in Aquinum in 87 A.D.,[1] and this year accordingly we may hypothetically assign as Juvenal's year of office. Prior to that he must have held the offices of quaestor and aedile, each post being held for a year, no interval being required between the several offices as at Rome, though the quaestorship could not be held before the age of twenty-five. The country towns of Italy were, as we know, already becoming depopulated, and there was probably very little competition for these offices; and as inscriptions prove, they were held over and over again by the same persons, so that there is no reason why Juvenal should not have been quaestor in 85, the year after his return from Britain, aedile in 86, and duovir quinquennalis in 87.[2] Very likely in the latter year he may have been elected by his fellow-townsmen *flamen divi Vespasiani*, an office, or rather an honour, which in some towns was annual, in others permanent; in Aquinum it seems to have been the latter (Wilmanns, 2046).[3] After this

[1] This is based on an inference from Wilmanns, 2046, in which 27 A.D. seems to be a year in which *duoviri quinquennales* were appointed at Aquinum.

[2] A military career similar to Juvenal's, followed by municipal magistracies, finds examples in Wilmanns, 694, 1266, 1815, 2168.

[3] Juvenal's posts and offices are not enumerated in full in this inscription, because it was a dedicatory inscription, and in these, as

Juvenal seems to have left his native town for good, and to have migrated to Rome, possibly in order to secure the influence and patronage which would enable him to gain the two remaining posts of his military career, and then enter on the more profitable procuratorial offices, possibly to do what from choice or necessity he did do—lead a literary, somewhat Bohèmian, life, occupied with rhetorical practice and declamation, and as soon as Domitian's death removed the bar to literary productiveness, marked by the gradual composition and publication of his *Satires*. That he was a disappointed man, the pessimistic character of his writings would lead us to suppose;[1] that he was induced for whatever reason to court the favour of the rich and noble, we know from Martial, xii. 18—

> Dum tu forsitan inquietus erras
> Clamosa, Iuvenalis, in Subura,
> Aut collem dominae teris Dianae :
> Dum per limina tu potentiorum
> Sudatrix toga ventilat, etc. ;

and it is quite possible that the famous line, "Praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos," may have been drawn

a rule, only the highest office was mentioned. Thus in Wilmanns, 88, where Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus dedicates some object to Apollo, he is merely described as "bis praefectus urbi"; but in 1232, where an honorary slab is erected to him by some *collegium*, all his posts are mentioned. So in an honorary inscription to T. Appaeus Alfinus, a citizen of Firmum, and very much of Juvenal's standing, he is described as "praefectus cohortis IV Gallorum, tribunus coh. I Aeliae Brittonum; praefectus alae I Augustae Thracum; patronus coloniae; flamen divorum omnium et II vir quinquennalis" (Wilmanns, 1266).

[1] Instances of this pessimism are i. 94, 149; iii. 313; viii. 98; xi. 42, 120; xiii. 28, 60, 157; xiv. 191; xv. 159.

from him by his own unavailing attempts to secure further promotion in his military career.

Reconstruction of Juvenal's Life

Decimus Junius Juvenalis, the son of a well-to-do freedman, was born at Aquinum in 55 A.D. After passing through the ordinary grammar-school course (Sat. i. 15), probably at Rome, and also some brief rhetorical training (Sat. i. 16), he gained admission, perhaps through the influence of his father's patron, to the *equestris militia*, and served first as ordinary centurion, and then as primipilus, though where we do not know. In 81 A.D. he received his promotion to the command of an auxiliary cohort of Dalmatians, which was then engaged in Britain under Agricola in a war against the tribes of Scotland. On the recall of Agricola in 84 Juvenal returned too, possibly invalided, and instead of seeking for his next post, the tribunate of a legion, he settled in his native town, and passed successively through the offices of quaestor, aedile, and duovir quinquennalis, attaining the latter post in 87 A.D., and in the same year being appointed *flamen divi Vespasiani*. In the course of the next year or so, *i.e.* at the age of thirty-three or thirty-four, he went to live at Rome, very likely hoping to continue his military career by being appointed tribune of a legion. Meanwhile he resumed his interrupted rhetorical studies, though without any definite purpose of practising in the courts. At Rome he came across and contracted a friendship for the poet Martial, and together the two seem to have experienced the discomfort and snubs to which literary men, hoping for liberal patrons, and candidates for military or civil posts

alike were exposed, and to which both Martial and Juvenal make so many references in their poems. Martial before long returned to his native country, but still wrote to his friend, who remained at Rome (xii. 18). That Juvenal was an admirer of and well acquainted with Martial's poems is proved by the large number of striking verbal similarities to passages in the *Epigrams* which are found in the *Satires*.[1]

After Domitian's death in 96 A.D. the indignation which Juvenal, in common with other writers, had been obliged to smother during the reign of terror began to find a vent in the composition of Satires, a species of literature peculiar to the Romans, and in which Juvenal, though he still had to make allowance for the less amount of liberty enjoyed under the empire, chose Lucilius for his model. Very likely Sat. ii., iii., iv., and v. were the first to be written, and some of them may have been known more or less widely through recitations some years before they were published. They were, however, published together (forming Book I.), together with a general introductory Satire (Sat. i.), somewhere about the year 105 or 106 A.D., *i.e.* when Juvenal was fifty years old ("ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit"). Whether

[1] Professor Nettleship gives a very full list of the parallel passages in the *Journal of Philology*, No. 31, p. 47 foll. His own opinion is that Martial was very little Juvenal's senior, and that the two worked at their poems virtually together. As, however, Martial died by about 103 A.D., and left Rome a little earlier, and had begun to publish his *Epigrams* soon after 82 or 83 A.D., this view seems quite inconsistent with the dates which can be traced in the *Satires;* and it is better to suppose that Juvenal was familiar with his friend's poems, and often took phrases and ideas from them.

Juvenal still under Trajan cherished the hope of further advancement is uncertain, but not unlikely; but patrons were still indifferent, or possibly Trajan, with his care for the army and the frontiers, considered that a dilettante rhetorician and poet was more in his element at Rome than on the frontier. Accordingly Juvenal, possessing that most fatal bar to strenuous endeavour, a small competence, continued to live at Rome or on his farm at Tibur, and our only knowledge of his life is gained by the successive publication of the books of his *Satires*—Book II. in about 116 A.D.; Book III. in 118-121, the ardent hopes expressed in which of better times for poets in the new reign were, at least in his own case, not realised; Book IV. probably between 121 and 126; while of the last book, Sat. xiii. was written in 127 A.D. Before, however, the book was published by the now octogenarian poet some verses of a previous Satire were shouted by the populace in the amphitheatre as a topical allusion in a way to give serious offence to the now suspicious and diseased emperor, Hadrian. The punishment inflicted was probably the heaviest that could have fallen on Juvenal—banishment from Rome, where the last forty years of his life had been passed, to Egypt, where Juvenal would see, and evidently did see, not the interesting land of prehistoric antiquities, but the barbarous home of savage customs and absurd superstitions. Here the literary career, commenced in indignation, continued under a more or less artificial and rhetorical stimulus, was concluded in pure ennui, and the exiled poet, who while he lived must write, composed before his death Sat. xv. and xvi.—the one suggestive of and suggested by his dreary surroundings, the other a feeble

and senile reminiscence of his days of active service. The loss of the greater part of the last Satire is, to judge by the commencement, by no means a serious one. Soon after this, very likely in the first year of Antoninus Pius, Juvenal died at the age of eighty-two or eighty-three. That during his exile he revised and added to his *Satires* we can hardly believe, unless he added those feeble lines which Jahn, with more regard for the poet's reputation than the poet himself possessed, has relegated to a bracketed existence.

Juvenal's Indictment of his Times

Before we can accept the view usually taken of Juvenal as a stern moralist in an age of corruption unsparingly lashing the vices of his time, and impelled by the resistless force of a lofty indignation, it is necessary to subject the *Satires* to a certain amount of analysis to see what precisely were the features of his time which roused this indignation most, and whether the charges of vice, degradation, and corruption can fairly be sustained against Roman society in general.

One subject may be dismissed at the outset in a very few words. That there was in ancient society in general, and in Rome in particular, a great deal of the grosser forms of immorality is certain, and it cannot be said that Juvenal when he touches on this subject is guilty of exaggeration, except in so far as in the sixth Satire his arraignment of the female sex in general is far too sweeping. Whether society in the Roman capital was worse in these respects than our large modern cities is fortunately a question which need not here be discussed. In what follows the subject need not be again mentioned.

The first Satire is a sort of general indictment of the times: vice is at its zenith; there never was a greater abundance of it; it is difficult not to write satires; indignation compels at any rate the attempt. Let us see what in this general introduction strikes him most. First of all there is the frequency and length of recitations, no doubt a nuisance, and regarded so more or less even by good-natured dilettanti like Pliny, but still not without its uses, and hardly an object for moral indignation. Then we have rich and prosperous upstarts like the barber Cinnamus, the *parvenu* Crispinus, Matho the successful attorney, Regulus the arch-informer. On this it is sufficient to observe that bad as the system of *delatio* was, it was only an occasional evil at Rome, and under Trajan at any rate Juvenal's anger with it must have had an element of unreality. Then we get the dishonest guardian-at-law, the corrupt provincial governor, the horsey noble, the dandified forger, and the lady-poisoner. Of poisoning there was no doubt more in Rome than in modern times, but otherwise this is simply the ordinary criminal annals of any city; while with regard to provincial government, as we shall see in connection with Sat. viii., Juvenal is most unfair not only to Domitian and Trajan, but to the imperial system generally. Then after a reference to avarice and gambling we have no less than thirty lines devoted to the unfairness of the *sportula* and the ill-rewarded labours of clients. No doubt clients had much to complain of, but one can hardly help suspecting that both Martial and Juvenal are indignant on somewhat personal grounds. Then after a tirade, again somewhat lengthy, on the gluttony and selfishness of patrons, he exclaims, "omne

in praecipiti vitium stetit," and the Satire closes with a somewhat unreal and affected picture of the danger of satire writing, and a resolution to attack the dead.

The third Satire opens with the general accusation "artibus honestis nullus in urbe locus," an accusation which is considerably weakened by the examples immediately following of the sort of men who succeed at Rome, since they turn out to be simply upstarts, fortune's favourites, who have acted on Vespasian's maxim that money is money, however sordid the trade by which it is gained. A little farther on we get praising a bad book and promising the death of a father classed together as equally heinous offences. Then we have an indictment against the Greeks and Orientals who flock to Rome, and who supplant the Roman client. This, no doubt, was the cause of considerable moral corruption, but Juvenal does not work out the theme from this point of view; it is not abhorrence of Greek vice but jealousy of Greek success and versatility that moves his anger, and the conclusion drawn after seventy lines devoted to the subject is simply "nusquam minor est iactura clientis." The same point of view is maintained very much in what follows on the idolatry of wealth, and the ridicule levelled at the poor client, who is ousted from the equestrian seats to make room for rich but low-born upstarts. The Satire ends with complaints of the experiences of life at Rome, of the danger from fires, falling houses, crowded streets, drunken revellers, and footpads. On the whole it must be confessed that the third Satire, though fully justifying from its literary merits the reputation it has always enjoyed, is written in a somewhat light vein, and certainly does not give a very lurid picture of Roman corruption.

Still less do we find anything of the sort in Sat. iv., where it may be noticed that while Crispinus the adulterer is very briefly dismissed, Crispinus the extravagant *parvenu* excites great indignation. Then follows the story of the turbot which, if true, only proves that Domitian in his last years of suspicion and cruelty had more sense of humour than we should have given him credit for.

Sat. v., again, is written entirely from the point of view of the client, and no doubt fairly represents the treatment to which they were often exposed; but at the same time all patrons were certainly not like Virro. Pliny expressly disapproves of invidious distinction made by a host between the various guests at his table, and there is no doubt that Pliny represented in this respect a class, possibly a less numerous one than Virro, of generous patrons both to literary men and other clients. Pliny's letters show many instances of kindly feeling for this class of dependents: *e.g.* he sends one of his freedmen to Egypt for his health, another to the Riviera, while numerous inscriptions raised by patrons to their freedmen, or by freedmen to their patrons, show that feelings of mutual kindness and affection were far from uncommon.

So, too, with regard to the terrible and scathing indictment against women in Sat. vi. Juvenal takes exclusively the dark side; he picks out conspicuous instances of female depravity, and leads his readers to suppose that these are representatives of the sex. We have every reason to believe that this was not the case. We have numerous instances of fidelity and heroism in women of the upper classes in Tacitus and Pliny. So

Tacitus says at the beginning of the *Histories* (i. 3), "Non adeo virtutum sterile saeculum ut non et bona exempla prodiderit. Comitatae profugos liberos matres, secutae maritos in exilia coniuges," and in opposition to the instances of Juvenal we may fairly take the case of Artoria Flaccilla and Egnatia Maximilla (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 71); of Annia Pollitta (xvi. 10); of Servilia, wife of Asinius Pollio (*ib.* xvi 30); of Paulina, wife of Seneca (*ib.* xv. 64); of Arria, who showed her husband Caecina Paetus the way to die (Plin. *Ep.* iii. 16); of the younger Arria, Thrasea's wife (Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 34); of Fannia, wife of Helvidius Priscus, and of the married happiness of Pliny himself and his young wife Calpurnia. Among the lower classes, too, numerous inscriptions both in Rome and the provinces testify, often very pathetically, to an affectionate domestic life quite sufficiently to disprove absolutely Juvenal's indictment against women as a class.

Sat. vii. professes only to deal with the discouragement of literary men, but even so the picture is surely much exaggerated. Pliny's *Letters* show that there was a large senatorial circle of literary men, who not only listened to one another's recitations, but were always ready to patronise poorer men. At the same time the supply of needy poets and sophists was probably far in excess of the demand, and the result was no doubt discontent and distress on the part of many. With regard to rhetoric and declamation we may note that Pliny expressly mentions the encouragement these studies received from Trajan, while the Flavian emperors had all pursued the policy of establishing salaried chairs of rhetoric in various parts of the empire. When Juvenal

and Martial complain that these are no Maecenases, we may reply that men like Pliny did what Maecenas never dreamt of doing—founded schools, established municipal libraries, and provided endowments for the bringing up of free-born children.

Sat. viii. is a general impeachment of the nobles, who are represented as degenerate and unworthy, men of high-sounding names but disreputable lives—Rubellius Blandus, Lateranus, and Gracchus serving as types. Of course there is much truth in this picture. Under the empire there was no longer in reality a *carrière ouverte aux talents*, and the nobles, debarred from political activity, many of them spent their time in frivolity and dissipation. On the other hand, as far as individual examples go, we can get just as many of the opposite kind from Pliny, men like Verginius Rufus, Vestricius Spurinna, Corellius Rufus, etc., while many of the senatorial order went through the military career; and a long series of provincial governorships, such as we see in numerous inscriptions, with their varied experience and responsibility, must have turned out men, if not of the old and somewhat shadowy type which it was the fashion to ascribe to the old Romans, yet far removed from the empty-minded and frivolous being who for Juvenal represents the class. With regard to the state of the provinces, Juvenal is particularly unfair. To take the case of Cossutianus Capito or Marius Priscus as a type is to confuse almost wilfully the exception with the rule. Both had been punished for their misgoverment, and a glance through the cases under the *lex repetundarum* shows that provincial misgovernment under the empire was not frequent, and was sternly checked even

by emperors like Nero, while of Tiberius and Domitian not even their worst enemies can deny that they were good administrators and strict in their supervision of the provinces.

Sat. xi. deals with luxury, and here no doubt was one of the weak points in the imperial times. Access to and communication with all parts of the empire, and the peace which existed within the frontiers, gave an immense stimulus to commerce, and among the rich and successful to luxury. But still this is common to all city life on a large scale, and it was probably very much confined to Rome. In the municipal towns of Italy and the provinces there was still much of simplicity and frugality. Even in Rome it is possible, as Friedländer thinks, that there was less luxury, though what there was was more *banal*, than in such cities as London, Paris, and Vienna.

On Sat. x., xii., xiii., xiv. it is not necessary to dwell, as they are more declamations on moral subjects than satires on contemporary life. The foregoing very brief analysis of the *Satires* is, I think, sufficient to depose Juvenal from the lofty pedestal, as the scourger of vice, on which he has been sometimes placed. Satire with him was not primarily, any more than it was with Horace, an attack on vice; it was something much more entertaining, and perhaps quite as useful, a sketch of life and manners—"quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas, gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli." Before all things Juvenal writes from the point of view of a client, and of a client at Rome; for him the world is the capital, and the social conditions of the capital are all wrong, full of vice and corruption, and, more important still, full of upstarts and foreigners; the

rich *parvenu* has no generosity for clients; the Greek interloper ousts them from their position; the degenerate nobles no longer have the power or the will to help them. Juvenal is a thorough pessimist, having become so perhaps from a disappointed career; for some reason he seems to have failed in his search for promotion; he is, therefore, a disappointed man, a man with a grievance, and this warped his views of men and things. The indignation which induced him to write was probably quite sincere, but it was a personal, not a moral, indignation. Then, again, Juvenal was by training and predilection a rhetorician, and worked up his materials with the methods and colouring of a declamator. From this arises exaggeration and overstatement of his case; from a few examples, too sweeping deductions are drawn. Thus in Rome there are a great many Greek slaves, therefore it is "Graeca urbs"; Virro and others are mean to clients, therefore all patrons are; Gracchus and Lateranus are degenerate nobles, therefore the aristocracy is corrupt; Messalina and others are profligate women, therefore all women are bad, and marriage an evil.

In point of fact Juvenal is the reflection of one side only of his times, and that the seamy side. The divorce court and the police intelligence do not reflect the state of morality in England. No more do Juvenal's *Satires* give us a complete or impartial picture of Roman society. We must read side by side with them the contemporary letters of Pliny, which give a very different picture, and also weigh the evidence offered by inscriptions.

Such a comparison and sifting of evidence would probably result in bringing out, among other features,

the following balance-sheet of good and evil tendencies in Juvenal's time.

Evil Tendencies

1. An imperial court, often luxurious, and too prone to be permeated with the intrigues of favourites, etc.

2. A nobility weakened with and cowed by the suspicions and jealousies of the emperors, and frequently from one cause or another degrading itself by playing the part of informers, or, worse still, figuring as actors, charioteers, or gladiators.

3. A class of *nouveaux riches*, composed of merchants and adventurers, often Greek and Oriental, not too moral in life, and spreading a pernicious example of luxury.

4. Crowds of slaves from all nations, who exercised a deeply corrupting influence in a number of ways.

5. A number of literary adventurers attracted to Rome, and, disappointed of their first hopes, attaching themselves to the most depraved as patrons. Martial hardly escapes belonging to this class, and even Juvenal himself has some of its less disgraceful features.

6. The city mob, caring for nothing but "panem et Circenses," could not but have lowered the morals of Roman society in general.

7. The various vices and crimes which a complex civilisation and city life always and everywhere give rise to.

Good Tendencies

1. The emperors were frequently good administrators, and even, when tyrants themselves, chose, as Domitian notoriously did, good and efficient assistants.

2. A distinct aristocracy of education, somewhat inclined to dilettantism no doubt, but still refined and not immoral; sometimes coinciding with the old aristocracy of birth, but more frequently consisting of men like Pliny from the municipal towns.

3. A class of philosophers, with high ideals and pure morality, not without influence on society, though kept in the background through a suspicion on the part of the emperors that they constituted a political opposition. Some of them were Italians like Thrasea, Helvidius Priscus, Arulenus Rusticus, Junius Mauricus; others from the provinces, like Euphrates, Artemidorus, and Musonius.

4. Among the lower classes Christianity was at work below the surface. Juvenal knows nothing of it, Tacitus very little, and Pliny nothing till he came across it in Bithynia; but it was certainly there, and as certainly not without some leavening effect.

5. Under Trajan and Hadrian there was certainly a reform, political primarily, but to some extent moral and social too, which Juvenal passes by unnoticed.

6. Much simplicity and purity of domestic life among the humbler classes, as testified to by inscriptions.

Juvenal as a Rhetorician

We have seen that the *Lives* are almost unanimous in asserting that up to the middle period of his life Juvenal devoted himself to rhetoric and declamation, and the truth of this assertion receives a good deal of indirect internal evidence from the *Satires* themselves. But while all the *Satires* bear traces of Juvenal's rhetorical tastes and modes of treatment, some do so more than

others. Four Satires in particular (x., xii., xiii., xiv.) are essentially declamatory in tone, and are in fact, as has already been remarked, more like moral homilies, didactic and rhetorical, than Satires as the word is generally understood. So marked, indeed, is this feature in the Satires enumerated that the well-known German scholar, Prof. Otto Ribbeck, in a book entitled *Der echte und der unechte Juvenal*, has with a good deal of hypercritical ingenuity propounded the theory that while Juvenal himself wrote Sat. i.-ix., xi., and possibly xvi., some rhetorician or declamator wrote the other so-called Satires, and published them together with the genuine work of Juvenal after his death, ascribing them all to the same author. This theory has naturally made no converts, and I do not mention it here for the value of its conclusion, but because Ribbeck in working it out has undoubtedly shown in a very striking light the difference between Juvenal's earlier and later work.

In the first place, in all the earlier Satires there is contact with real life at every turn. Juvenal is clearly describing what he sees every day; his pictures are vivid and lifelike; he has an intimate acquaintance with the shady side of Roman life; allusions to current or recent events are frequent, and the numerous characters brought into his pages belong, if not exactly to the time in which he wrote, yet mostly to the period immediately preceding it; the persons are certainly real persons, and Juvenal has known them. In the later Satires, on the other hand, we have very little that is definite; the pictures are comparatively colourless and fanciful; the proper names occurring are both fewer in number and belong to persons who are otherwise unknown, persons whom even

the scholiast is often not able to identify, while of those who are known several may have been taken from the earlier Satires. We here find very few descriptions of Roman life. In great part the *Satires* might have been written by one who had never seen Rome, though there are one or two exceptions to this, such as the description of the *pompa Circensis* in x. 35, etc.; of the harbour at Ostia in xii. 75, etc.; the reference to some theft from the temple of Mars Ultor in xiv. 261. Such descriptions as those of the fall of Sejanus (x. 66, etc.), the marriage of Messalina (x. 330), and others, might have been, and no doubt were, taken from literature. Another point of distinction is that while in the earlier Satires Juvenal professed to discard mythological subjects in order to deal with actual life (i. 55 foll.), and for the most part does so, in the later Satires, on the other hand, references to mythology are comparatively frequent, *e.g.* the Index will show that mention is made of Nestor, Peleus, Ajax, Ulysses, Priam, Alcinous, Antiphates, Circe, Iphigenia, Orestes, Hippolytus, the golden fleece, Menoeceus, Prometheus, etc. Again, while the Roman characters in the first class are with a few exceptions, such as Tigellinus, etc., taken from Domitian's reign, those in the second class often come from republican days, while characters from Greek history are often introduced. Thus we have Pompeius, Caesar, Antonius, Cicero, Cato, Catilina, Cethegus, Marius, Mithridates, Pyrrhus, Lucretia, the Decii; and from Greek history, Xerxes, Alexander, Demosthenes, Croesus, Solon, etc. In fact, rhetorical theses, which in the earlier Satires are mentioned only to be laughed at, are in the later ones not uncommonly worked in and dovetailed into the general structure of the Satire.

Instances are Marius at Minturnae, Croesus and Solon, the career of Hannibal, the ambition and death of Alexander, and many others. Further, in the earlier Satires Juvenal shows no signs of any interest in philosophy, philosophers being either passed over in silence or laughed at, as in Sat. ii.; in the later poems, on the other hand, the Satirist shows some tendency to dabble in philosophy, though not indeed as a professed student of it, for this he expressly disclaims (xiii. 120), but still so far as to support his own moral platitudes by reference to well-known philosophical names, such as Zeno, Chrysippus, Thales, Pythagoras, Democritus, Heraclitus, etc., though it is almost certain that he knew these authorities only second-hand, perhaps through Seneca's writings.

Once more, as in the earlier Satires a more intimate knowledge is shown of Rome and Roman life, so in the later ones more frequent reference is made, generally by way of illustration and allusion, to places outside Italy, in such a way, however, as to show generally (Britain and Egypt may be exceptions) that the references are merely literary, and were not derived from personal travels. Instances are Africa, the Atlas Mountains, Tabraca, Meroe, the blue eyes of Germans, the goître among Alpine tribes, Thrace, etc. etc.

As a last point it may be noticed very briefly, for much could be written on this subject, that literary reminiscences, though doubtless not altogether absent from the earlier Satires, are very much more frequent in the later ones. As a few instances out of many, the following may serve:—x. 123 is a reminiscence of Cic. *Phil.* ii. 118; x. 258 of Cic. *Tus. disp.* i. 35, 85; xiii. 112-113 of Hom. *Il.* v. 785 and 859; xv. 66 of

Hom. *Il.* v. 304; xv. 15 of Hom. *Od.* ix. foll.; xiv. 204 is almost certainly a reminiscence of a story in Suetonius, *Vesp.* 23; xiv. 25 of Hor. *Ep.* i. 2, 43; x. 292 of Verg. *Aen.* i. 502; xiv. 215 of Verg. *Georg.* ii. 363; xv. 65 of Verg. *Aen.* xii. 846, etc.; xv. 5 foll. of Herod. ii. 68, etc.

These are the main grounds, in addition to the more impalpable arguments derived from the feebler style, more frequent repetitions, more constantly occurring redundancies and awkward digressions, which have suggested to Ribbeck his characteristically German theory as to the genuine and the spurious Juvenal. I will only mention, without dwelling on, three lines of argument against a view which never has and probably never will commend itself to any one besides its author. (1) In the first place, the faults of redundancy, repetition, and rhetorical extravagance which Ribbeck points out in the later Satires are also to be met with, though perhaps less frequently, in the earlier ones. This Ribbeck partly admits, but meets the argument by asserting that the passages in the earlier Satires where these features meet us most strongly are also interpolations by the later declamator. Such arguments are always dangerous, and in this case the assumption seems to be more than ordinarily gratuitous. (2) The difference of character between the two classes of Satires may be naturally enough explained on other grounds. Juvenal, though he wrote nothing for the public under Domitian, very possibly may have been collecting materials; he was doubtless smarting with indignation at his real or fancied grievances, and as soon as the gag which silenced him was removed by Domitian's death, and the establishment

of a settled and mild régime under Trajan after the uncertain and transition period of Nerva's reign, the first book, and some years later the second book, of Satires was written and published. In these the events of Domitian's reign were fresh in his memory, and the indignation not yet dulled. So many grievances occur to him that the Satires naturally take a concrete form, are crowded with incidents, full of vivid pictures. But after all, to satirise past times has an element of unreality about it; this is partly concealed in the first burst of indignation let loose, but it was hardly possible to keep it up, and accordingly in the third book (vii.-ix.), though these too belong to Ribbeck's earlier class, the character has already evidently changed, and these Satires stand half-way between the vivid and concrete Satires of Books I. and II. and the abstract colourless disquisitions of Books IV. and V. These latter books, then, are merely the completion of a tendency apparent before. To satirise Domitian's reign under Trajan was permissible, though after a time monotonous; to satirise Trajan's reign under Hadrian was not permissible, even if the improved state of things had not taken away some at least of the materials for satire, and accordingly Juvenal, who it must be remembered, too, was growing old and perhaps garrulous, naturally enough combines his old occupation of declamator and rhetorician with his new rôle of satirist, allowing historical allusions, school theses, and literary reminiscences generally, to take the place of personal and contemporary pictures, the result being what Ribbeck somewhat irreverently terms "afternoon sermons." (3) Similar traces of Juvenal's rhetorical training are apparent in all the Satires alike. Numerous instances which prove this are

collected by Bergmüller (*Quaestiones Iuvenalianae*). I select a very few just to illustrate the argument, not to exhaust it. (*a*) Rhetorical modes of statement or question are found in the following among many other passages: i. 45, 52; v. 12, 51, 59; vii. 27; viii. 83; xiv. 114; xvi. 7, 35. (*b*) Rhetorical uses of the inferential particle *ergo:* iii. 104, 281; x. 54; xi. 17, 21, 129. (*c*) Rhetorical uses of *nunc:* iii. 268; x. 210; xvi. 35; *porro:* iii. 126; vii. 98; xi. 9; *autem:* iii. 209; xi. 90; *sed:* i. 117; x. 232; xi. 136; xiii. 213; *quis*, *quid* or *quid enim?* i. 48; iii. 86, 147, 208; iv. 46, 101; v. 163; vii. 158, 199; viii. 30, 114, 183, 221; x. 4, 141, 185, 302; xi. 38; xiii. 72, 98, 234; xv. 140, etc.

To this it may be added that the earlier Satires, though not strictly speaking declamations, are still set pieces, dealing each with some one subject, the illustrations being marshalled in regular order, and are in this respect a strong contrast to the less elaborate and more loosely constructed *Satires* of Horace, where each Satire deals with everything. Another consequence of Juvenal's rhetorical treatment of his subject, viz. the desire for striking collocation or piquant anti-climax, is also shown in both classes of Satires, resulting in the non-moral point of view which sometimes reveals itself, as when the rich barber excites as much indignation as the abandoned criminal, the horsey noble as the cruel provincial governor, the luxury of Crispinus as his incest and adultery, the Troica of Nero as his mother's murder.

But while there is a distinction between the styles of Books I.-II., and Book III., there is no less difference, though of another sort, between x., xii.-xiv., and the two last Satires. The former, the declamatory Satires

properly so called, were probably written at Rome under Hadrian, and with all respect to Ribbeck's opinion they are masterpieces in their way, but the two last Satires, or at any rate the fifteenth, for xvi. is so short a fragment that we can hardly judge, are of a different sort. Sat. xv. was probably written in exile, and deals merely with a local incident. Its style is certainly not worthy of Juvenal, and it bears unmistakably the signs of senility. The genuineness of both these Satires has been doubted, but not on grounds which are of very great importance.

With regard to Sat. xv. we may notice that its genuineness was never doubted in ancient times, and that it is quoted in particular as Juvenal's by Servius on Verg. *Aen.* ii. 540, while the fact that in some few MSS. it is transposed with Sat. xvi. is hardly an argument worth considering. This fact is however, so far as I know, the only argument based on anything like external evidence which has been adduced. Those resting on internal evidence, most fully collected by C. Kempf (*De Satura xv. Iuvenalis*, etc.), rest on the essentially vague and unsatisfactory criticisms of style and language. He assumes that Juvenal if he had written the Satire must have written it with some motive, and because he can find no motive which seems to him satisfactory he declares it to be non-authentic. Again he lays stress on the awkward digressions in lines 13-23 and 62-72; the weakness of line 55; the tautology of lines 22-25, 47-48, 95, 129-130, 134, etc.; the inappropriateness of lines 84-86 and 89-92; the confusion and vagueness of *alterius populi* in line 39, and *altera pars* in line 73; the indefiniteness of *inde* and *hinc* in lines 48

and 51. Lastly, certain misstatements on matters of fact are alleged: *e.g.* Tentyra and Ombi described as neighbours are really a hundred miles apart; Diana, contrary to Juvenal's statement in line 8, is worshipped in Egypt under the name of Bubastis (Ov. *Met.* ix. 691); Elpenor in Homer (*Od.* iv. 552) was not turned into a hog with his companions, but broke his neck by falling down a ladder. Every one will see how insufficient these arguments are to support the conclusion, especially as it is admitted on all hands that both in this Satire and the last there are here and there lines which are thoroughly Juvenalian.

With regard to Sat. xvi. the scholiast says, "ista exploditur a plerisque et dicitur non esse Iuvenalis," evidence, however, which we may fairly say is cancelled by the fact that both Priscian (viii. 6, 31) and Servius (on Verg. *Aen.* i. 16 and ii. 102) quote the Satire as Juvenal's. Among modern scholars Heinrich is perhaps the representative of those who deny its genuineness, for Ribbeck is disposed to ascribe this Satire to what he calls Juvenal the satirist as opposed to Juvenal the declamator. Apart, indeed, from the fragmentary character of the poem, and its comparative weakness of style, there is really no evidence against its authenticity. As far as the contents go, and the references to military affairs and institutions, there is nothing whatever inconsistent with its having been written in Hadrian's reign, and although Gibbon (chap. v. note 64) says that the style and circumstances of the Satire would induce him to believe that it was composed under Severus or Caracalla, he brings forward no reason to support this statement, and in point of fact there is none. With regard

to the question whether Sat. xvi. was left a fragment by Juvenal, or whether the remainder has been lost, there are two important pieces of evidence both tending in the same direction—(1) line 60 ends a quaternion in *P.*, and there is no subscription "Explicit liber quintus" as there is at the end of all the other books, so that the presumption is that some leaves at the end of the archetype have been lost; (2) this is confirmed by the following calculation: the Scholia to lines 129-158 of Sat. vii. in *P.* and the *Codex Sangallensis* 870 are missing, from which it may be safely inferred that one page of the archetype was missing, and that each page of the archetype contained thirty lines. Now if we reckon up from Sat. vii. 159 to the end, counting in the lines occupied by the subscription at the end of each book and the superscription at the head of each Satire, we find again that Sat. xvi. 60 would come at the bottom of a page. The Satire was, therefore, no doubt finished by Juvenal, but has been lost from the archetype from which all our existing MSS. are derived.

On the various subjects contained in this part of the Introduction consult for full information—Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, pp. 755-761 in 4th ed., and *Studien und Charakteristiken zur Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 410 foll.; Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*, vol. iii., pp. 459-470 in 5th ed.; O. Ribbeck, *Der echte und der unechte Juvenal;* C. Kempf, *De Satura xv. Iuvenalis;* Weise, *Vindiciae Iuvenalianae;* Bergmüller, *Quaestiones Iuvenalianae;* J. Dürr, *Das Leben Juvenals;* A. Weidner, *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturae*, 2d ed., 1889; L. Schwabe, *Juvenal's Geburtsjahr* in the Rheinisches Museum, vol. xl. p. 25, etc.

MSS. and Authorities for the Text

The MSS. of Juvenal may be divided into two classes, the one very numerously represented (Ruperti gives a list of 46) but comparatively worthless for critical purposes, the other represented now by only one complete codex but this of the greatest value in determining the text.

The former class may be dismissed in a few words. They are usually called the interpolated MSS. and are scattered about in all the principal libraries throughout Europe. Though of course differing from one another in various details, some being more, some less, carefully copied by the scribes, they seem all of them to follow not the original text of Juvenal, but a revised and corrected version of it, which was probably the work of some grammarian in the fifth or sixth century. As two of these MSS., both of the eleventh century, viz. *Cod. Medic.* 34, 42 and *Cod. Leidensis* 82, bear the subscription, "legi ego Niceus Romae apud Servium magistrum et emendavi," the recension would seem to have originated with Servius, the Vergilian commentator, and is usually known as either the Servian or the Nicaean recension. In many cases, of course, these interpolated MSS. (usually described in an *apparatus criticus* as ω) preserve the correct reading where the representative of the better class is manifestly corrupt, but where the two classes disagree, the former must in most cases be disregarded unless they are supported by some other evidence. It should be added that the Scholia attached to these MSS., usually attributed to a certain Cornutus, though lengthy and elaborate, have

very little real value, either for purposes of textual criticism or interpretation, and probably date from no farther back than the Carolingian period. It is unnecessary to enumerate these MSS., since they will be spoken of in my *apparatus criticus* under the collective symbol ω, but it may be mentioned that some of them, such as *Cod. Paris.* 7900, 8071, and *Cod. Vindobonensis* 111, etc., have been corrected in a second hand from some MS. belonging to the better class. When Juvenal is cited by the grammarians it is mostly this revised or interpolated text which is used (see C. Hosius, *De Iuvenalis codicum recensione interpolata*, 1888).

Of the MSS. of the better class, which are independent of the Nicaean recension, we can trace the existence of four, which were preserved till about the fifteenth or sixteenth century, though at the present time only one exists entire.—This is the *Cod. Pithoeanus*, from the name of its former owner Petrus Pithoeus, or *Cod. Montepessulanus* 125, from its present position in the *École de Médicine* at Montpellier. Originally belonging to the monastery of Lorsch on the Rhine it passed into the hands of Matthias Corvinus, and then came into the possession of Pierre Pithou, who published both the text of Juvenal and the Scholia based on this MS. in 1585. After that time the Codex seems to have passed to the Public Library at Troyes, and from there to have been removed to Montpellier. After centuries of neglect, during which the interpolated MSS. reigned supreme, it was once more made use of by Otto Jahn in his edition of 1851, a collation of it having been made for him by I. V. Bertin, and from that time it has been confessedly the first authority for the text of Juvenal. It has lately

been collated anew, and with much greater care, by Rudolf Beer, who gives the results in full in his *Spicilegium Iuvenalianum* (1885), and this new collation is the basis of the text in Bücheler's re-issue of Jahn's edition (1886), which pending the reprinting of Professor Mayor's text is now the standard authority. The Codex belongs to the ninth century, and is written in minuscules. It has unfortunately been corrected in a second and much later hand from some MS. belonging to the other class, the correction in some cases rendering the original reading illegible. In the *apparatus criticus* the original reading is symbolised by *P.*, the second hand by *p.*

Another MS. of the same class was used by George Valla of Placentia in the edition of Juvenal which he published at Venice in 1486. The MS. is now, however, lost, and the edition of Valla can hardly be taken as evidence for the readings of the MS., for in Jahn's words, "in poetae verbis recensendis codicis sui nullam fere rationem habuit." A third MS. formerly existed in the monastery of St. Gall, and is still numbered in the catalogue as *D.* 304, but the MS. itself has unfortunately disappeared. There is, however, in the same library another MS., *Cod. Sangallensis* 870, dating from the ninth century, which enables us to form some judgment on the lost Codex, and which also preserves some important readings from it. This MS. contains first a so-called Florilegium, that is to say, a collection of metrical excerpts put together probably for school purposes to illustrate Latin prosody. The Florilegium contains altogether 458 verses. Of those 191-422 are, with two exceptions from Persius, taken from Juvenal, and mostly cited according to the order of the Satires; 423-454 are

from Persius, and again 455-458 from Juvenal, while of the first 190 verses 48 are from Juvenal and 5 from Persius. In other words, 320 verses out of 458 are from Juvenal and Persius. Following the Florilegium are Scholia to Juvenal, and these are almost identical with those in *P.* Now when we bear in mind the large majority of excerpts from Juvenal and Persius in the Florilegium, and the presence of the Scholia to Juvenal, and put this together with the fact that the same monastery undoubtedly once possessed a Codex of Juvenal and Persius, the conclusion is practically certain that the monk who put together the Florilegium and wrote the Scholia had before him the Codex of Juvenal, which is now lost. That this Codex was closely akin to *P.* is apparent both from the similarity of readings in the text, and also from the very close resemblance of the Scholia which, as will be seen below, differ essentially in the two classes of MSS.; but still the evidence shows that neither was the *Codex Sangallensis* copied from *P.* nor *P.* from it. By far the most important reading which we gain from the Florilegium is "sufflamine mulio consul" in viii. 148, which will in future take the place of the old "multo sufflamine," but "robum" in viii. 155, "matellae" in x. 64, "quem" in vii. 214, "nepotes" in viii. 67, and "fulva" in xii. 102, are all found in the Florilegium (*F.*) either alone or in conjunction with *P.* It is probably a mere accident that no line is quoted in the Florilegium from Sat. xvi. For a full account of this MS. see C. Stephan in the Rheinisches Museum, vol. xl. pp. 263-282.

A fourth MS., also closely akin to *P.*, formerly belonged to the library of the parochial church at Aarau in Switzer-

land. Of this Codex five fragments alone remain, discovered, when the municipal archives of Aarau were being overhauled, to be doing duty as bindings for some of the documents. These fragments contain a few lines of Sat. ii., 239 lines of Sat. vi., and portions of Sat. iii. and vii. (iii. 6-13, 35-63, 64-92; vii. 57-85, 86-114, 115-143, 144-172), together with the Scholia belonging to them. The MS. dates from the tenth or eleventh century, and shows in its readings the closest relationship to *P.* Like *P.*, too, it had been corrected in a second hand from one of the interpolated MSS. The Codex itself was probably destroyed at the Reformation. The fragments are generally known as the *Schedae Arovienses*, and are symbolised in the *apparatus criticus* as *A*. They agree with *P.* in establishing the following new readings :—"In summa," iii. 79; "Lacernae," vii. 114; "ponere," vii. 149; "forte," vii. 156. See Wirz in *Hermes*, vol. xv. 437 foll., and Beer, *Spicilegium*, pp. 28-33.

In addition to the MSS. of the text of Juvenal it remains to notice that the Scholia attached to the MSS. of this better class are often important for critical purposes, either directly quoting the readings of the text in lemmata, or suggesting it by their interpretations. These Scholia are of an essentially different character from those in the interpolated MSS. They are much briefer, but far more valuable, and many of them may probably date back as far as the end of the fourth century. At that period, as we know from Ammianus Marcellinus (28, 4, 14), Juvenal was much and carefully read. These Scholia are found almost identical in *P.* and in the *Cod. Sangallensis* 870, into which, as we have seen, they were undoubtedly copied from the lost Codex, *D.* 304.

Corresponding Scholia are also found in the fragments of Aarau. As an instance of the way in which the lemmata prove a reading we may take viii. 155, to which there is a scholion, "robumque, *i.e.* robustum: rufum: unde Hercules robus dictus est"; while an example of a reading being suggested by the interpretation of the scholiast is furnished in the same Satire, line 157, where the scholion on the word *Eponam* is "quia mulio est qui consul fertur; Epona dea mulionum est." Other examples might easily be collected from the *apparatus criticus*. The Scholia which Valla published in his edition, though somewhat fuller, have a general resemblance to those in *P*. Valla himself attributes them to Probus, not of course the Valerius Probus of Berytus, since he flourished in Nero's reign. It does not, however, seem possible to fix their authorship. Valla's Scholia only go as far as Sat. viii. 197. In the *apparatus criticus* readings in any way suggested or confirmed by the Scholia, whether in *P*. or the *Codex Sangallensis*, are symbolised by *S*. It only remains to notice two interesting fragments of a palimpsest MS. belonging to the interpolated class, but probably going back as far as the fifth or sixth century; these are the so-called *Fragmenta Bobiensia* (from the Irish monastery of Bobio in N. Italy), now in the Vatican, written in uncials, and containing only Sat. xiv. 323——, xv. 43.

Noteworthy Editions

Editio Princeps, published at Rome in 1470.

G. Valla's edition, published in Venice, 1486, from a MS. akin to *P*., now lost, and containing the so-called Probus-commentary up to Sat. viii. 197.

First Aldine Edition, Venice 1501.

Edition of Pithoeus, published at Paris in 1585 from *P*.

Ruperti's edition, published at Leipzig in 1801, and containing a full list of the MSS. of Juvenal, as well as of previous editions.

C. F. Heinrich's edition, published at Bonn in 1839, containing the ancient Scholia.

Otto Jahn's edition, published at Berlin in 1851, and containing the Scholia and seven *Lives;* the text, for the first time since the edition of Pithou, being based on a collation of *P*.

Professor Mayor's edition, published in 1878-80; and a second edition of vol. i. in 1886, containing a new Introduction.

A. Weidner's second edition, 1889.

Full information on the text can be gained from the Introduction to Jahn's edition of 1851; C. F. Hermann, *De codicibus Iuvenalis recte existimandis*, 1847; Introduction to Bücheler's recension of Jahn's text, 1886; R. Beer, *Spicilegium Iuvenalianum*, 1886; Introduction to Weidner's second edition; Introduction to Mayor's second edition, vol. i.; H. Wirz in *Hermes*, vol. xv. pp. 437 foll.; C. Stephan in the Rheinisches Museum, vol. xl. pp. 263 foll.

MOST IMPORTANT NEW READINGS ADOPTED IN THIS EDITION

i. 67. signator, falso *for* signator falsi.
70. rubeta *for* rubetam.
74. aliquid *for* aliquis.
114. habitat *for* habitas.
150. Dices *for* Dicas.
156. pectore *for* gutture.
iii. 18. praesentius *for* praestantius.
38. et cur non ? omnia, etc., *for* et cur non omnia ?
79. In summa *for* Ad summam.
131. servo *for* servi.
322. auditor *for* adiutor.
iv. 3. aegrae *for* aeger.
v. 38. berullos *for* berullo.
39. phiala *for* phialas.
70. fictus *for* factus.
80. distinguat *for* distendat.
91. atris *for* Afros.
116. spumat *for* fumat.
vii. 16. gallica *for* Gallia.
99. perit *for* petit.
136. illi *for* illis.
149. ponere *for* imponere.
156. diversae forte *for* diversa parte.
165. quid do *for* quod do.
166. Haec alii sex *for* Ast alii sex.
201. triumphum *for* triumphos.
214. quem *for* qui.
viii. 67. nepotes *for* Nepotis.
90. rerum *for* regum.
105. Dolabellae *for* Dolabella est.

viii. 105. atque istinc *for* atque hinc.
148. sufflamine mulio consul *for* multo sufflamine consul.
155. robum *for* torvum.
159. unctus *for* udus.
207. Credamus, tunicae *for* Credamus tunicae.
239. monte *for* gente.
x. 30. auctor *for* alter.
35. praetextae, trabeae *for* praetexta et trabeae.
54. Ergo supervacua aut si *for* Ergo supervacua haec aut.
70. indicibus *for* indiciis.
93. augusta *for* angusta.
116. parcam *for* partam.
211. sive *for* sitve.
311. exspectent *for* exspectant.
313. mariti irati ; debet *for* mariti exigere iratist.
xi. 6. ardet *for* ardens.
38. crumina *for* culina.
58. si *for* sed.
93. habendam *for* habendum.
148. in magno *for* et magno.
178. faciant *for* faciunt.
184. licebat *for* licebit.
xii. 73. miserabile *for* mirabile.
104. fulva *for* furva.
xiii. 18. proficit *for* proficis.
65. mirandis *for* miranti.
107. confirmat *for* confirmant.
xiv. 11. puerum *for* puero.
45. pater *for* puer.
83. levarit *for* levabit.
86. Cretonius *for* Cetronius.
139. crescit *for* crevit.
216. naturae mala nequitia est *for* maturae mala nequitiae.
217. longae *for* longi.
xv. 75. praestantibus omnibus instans *for* praestant instantibus Ombis.
104. urbibus *for* ventribus.
107. nec enim omnia quidam *for* nec enim omnia, quaedam.
134. causam dicentis *for* casum lugentis.
xvi. 20. tamen cohors *for* cohors tamen.

SUMMARY OF SYMBOLS IN APPARATUS CRITICUS

P. Codex Pithoeanus.
p. Second hand in *P.*
F. Florilegium in Codex Sangallensis 870.
A. Schedae Arovienses, for parts of Satires iii. and vii. only.
B. Fragmenta Bobiensia, for parts of Satires xiv. and xv.
ω. Interpolated MSS. where all agree.
ς. Some of the interpolated MSS. where they differ.

DATES OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF ROMAN HISTORY FROM THE SOCIAL WAR TO THE DEATH OF JUVENAL

Social War	90–89 B.C.
Sulla sent against Mithridates	87 B.C.
Death of Marius	86 B.C.
Proscriptions of Sulla	79 B.C.
Death of Sulla	78 B.C.
Lucullus sent against Mithridates	74 B.C.
Verres in Sicily	73–70 B.C.
Pompeius returns from Spain	72 B.C.
Pompeius sent against Mithridates	66 B.C.
Cicero's Consulship	63 B.C.
First Triumvirate	60 B.C.
Battle of Pharsalia	48 B.C.
Battle of Thapsus and Death of Cato	46 B.C.
Murder of Julius Caesar	44 B.C.
Second Triumvirate and Death of Cicero	43 B.C.
Battle of Philippi	42 B.C.
Battle of Actium	32 B.C.
AUGUSTUS	31 B.C.–14 A.D.
Death of Agrippa	12 B.C.
Death of Drusus	9 B.C.
Death of Maecenas	7 B.C.
Tiberius retires to Rhodes	6 B.C.
Returns from Rhodes	4 A.D.
Defeat of Varus	10 A.D.
TIBERIUS	14 A.D.–37 A.D.
Germanicus on the Rhine	14 A.D.–16 A.D.
Death of Germanicus	19 A.D.
Influence of Seianus begins	20 A.D.

Establishment of Praetorian Camp by Seianus	23 A.D.
Tiberius retires to Capreae	27 A.D.
Fall of Seianus	31 A.D.
CALIGULA	37 A.D.–41 A.D.
CLAUDIUS	41 A.D.–54 A.D.
Claudius in Britain	43 A.D.
Death of Messalina and Silius	48 A.D.
NERO	54 A.D.–68 A.D.
Murder of Britannicus	55 A.D.
Death of Agrippina	59 A.D.
Influence of Tigellinus	62 A.D.
Burning of Rome and persecution of Christians	64 A.D.
Conspiracy of Piso	65 A.D.
Death of Thrasea	66 A.D.
Revolt of Vindex	68 A.D.
GALBA	68 A.D.–69 A.D.
OTHO	69 A.D.
VITELLIUS	69 A.D.
VESPASIAN	69 A.D.–79 A.D.
Capture of Jerusalem by Titus	70 A.D.
Execution of Helvidius Priscus	75 A.D.
The Colosseum built	77–80 A.D.
TITUS	79 A.D.–81 A.D.
Destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum	79 A.D.
DOMITIAN	81 A.D.–96 A.D.
Agricola in Britain	78 A.D.–84 A.D.
Death of Paris the Pantomime	83 A.D.
Expedition against the Chatti	84 A.D.
The Council concerning the Turbot	84 A.D.
Defeat of Fuscus by the Dacians	86 A.D.
NERVA	96 A.D.–98 A.D.
TRAJAN	98 A.D.–117 A.D.
Accusation of Marius Priscus by Tacitus and Pliny	100 A.D.
Expedition against the Dacians	101 A.D.
HADRIAN	117 A.D.–138 A.D.
Begins progress through the Empire	121 A.D.

DATES OF LITERARY MEN

P. Vergilius Maro	70 B.C.– 19 B.C.
Q. Horatius Flaccus	65 B.C.– 8 B.C.
T. Livius Patavinus	59 B.C.– 17 A.D.
P. Ovidius Naso	43 B.C.– 17 A.D.
A. Persius Flaccus	34 A.D.– 62 A.D.
L. Annaeus Seneca	3 A.D.– 65 A.D.
M. Annaeus Lucanus	39 A.D.– 65 A.D.
M. Fabius Quintilianus	35 A.D.– 95 A.D.
P. Papinius Statius	61 A.D.– 98 A.D.
M. Valerius Martialis	43 A.D.–103 A.D.
C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus	62 A.D.–113 A.D.
C. Cornelius Tacitus	54 A.D.–118 A.D.
C. Suetonius Tranquillus	75 A.D.–160 A.D.

D. IUNIUS IUVENALIS

Born	55 A.D.
Entered on Military Career	about 72 A.D.
Sent to Britain as Praefect of a Cohort	,, 81 A.D.
Returns home to Aquinum	84 A.D.
Duovir Quinquennalis	87 A.D.
Addressed by Martial at Rome	92 A.D. and 102 A.D.
Published 1st book of *Satires*	about 107 A.D.
,, 2d ,,	116 A.D.
,, 3d ,,	118–121 A.D.
,, 4th ,,	121–126 A.D.
,, 5th ,,	about 135 A.D.
Exiled by Hadrian	probably about 134 A.D.
Died in Egypt	about 138 A.D.

D. IUNII IUVENALIS

SATURARUM

LIBER PRIMUS

SATURA I

1-18.—*Must I always listen to the compositions of others on subjects which I know as well as they? Why should not I write too?*

Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam,
vexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?
Impune ergo mihi cantaverit ille togatas,
hic elegos? impune diem consumpserit ingens
Telephus, aut summi plena iam margine libri
scriptus et in tergo, necdum finitus, Orestes?
Nota magis nulli domus est sua, quam mihi lucus
Martis et Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum
Vulcani. Quid agant venti, quas torqueat umbras
Aeacus, unde alius furtivae devehat aurum
pelliculae, quantas iaculetur Monychus ornos,
Frontonis platani convulsaque marmora clamant
semper, et adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae.
Exspectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.

2 Codri *p. ω.*

Et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos
consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum
dormiret. Stulta est clementia, cum tot ubique
vatibus occurras, periturae parcere chartae.

19-50.—*I will now explain why I follow Lucilius in preference to other poets. When I see rich upstarts like Crispinus, successful delatores, and the most shameful crimes unpunished, write I must.*

Cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo,
per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus,
si vacat ac placidi rationem admittitis, edam.
Cum tener uxorem ducat spado, Maevia Tuscum
figat aprum et nuda teneat venabula mamma;
patricios omnes opibus cum provocet unus,
quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat;
cum pars Niliacae plebis, cum verna Canopi
Crispinus, Tyrias umero revocante lacernas,
ventilet aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
nec sufferre queat maioris pondera gemmae:
difficile est saturam non scribere. Nam quis iniquae
tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se,
causidici nova cum veniat lectica Mathonis,
plena ipso? post hunc magni delator amici,
et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa
quod superest, quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat
Carus, et a trepido Thymele submissa Latino.
Accipiat sane mercedem sanguinis, et sic
palleat, ut nudis qui pressit calcibus anguem,
aut Lugudunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.
Quid referam, quanta siccum iecur ardeat ira,
cum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator

pupilli prostantis et hic damnatus inani
iudicio? quid enim salvis infamia nummis?
Exul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis
iratis: at tu victrix provincia ploras.

51-72.—*Surely these things are worthy of Horace's pen: one can stand at a cross-road, and soon fill one's tablets with instances of successful villany.*

Haec ego non credam Venusina digna lucerna?
Haec ego non agitem? Sed quid magis Heracleas
aut Diomedeas aut mugitum Labyrinthi,
et mare percussum puero fabrumque volantem,
cum fas esse putet curam sperare cohortis,
qui bona donavit praesepibus et caret omni
maiorum censu, dum pervolat axe citato
Flaminiam puer Automedon? nam lora tenebat
ipse, lacernatae cum se iactaret amicae.
Nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces
quadrivio, cum iam sexta cervice feratur
hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra,
et multum referens de Maecenate supino
signator, falso qui se lautum atque beatum
exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerat uda?
Occurrit matrona potens, quae molle Calenum
porrectura viro miscet sitiente rubeta,
instituitque rudes melior Locusta propinquas
per famam et populum nigros efferre maritos.

67 Signator, falso *P.* signator falsi *ω.* 68 fecerat *P.* fecerit *S. ω.* 70 rubeta *P.* rubetam *ω.*

73-80.—*If you want to be of any note, commit some crime. That is the way to success and wealth.*

Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,
si vis esse aliquid. Probitas laudatur et alget.
Criminibus debent hortos, praetoria, mensas,
argentum vetus et stantem extra pocula caprum.
Quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor avarae,
quem sponsae turpes et praetextatus adulter?
Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum,
qualemcumque potest, quales ego vel Cluvienus.

81-86.—*My subject is the passions and occupations of mankind from the Deluge.*

Ex quo Deucalion, nimbis tollentibus aequor,
navigio montem ascendit sortesque poposcit,
paulatimque anima caluerunt mollia saxa,
quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli.

87-126.—*Never was there a greater amount of crime. Gambling and gluttony are increasing; the rush for the "sportula" presents a grotesque and degrading spectacle. Money is our real goddess, though as yet she has no temple.*

Et quando uberior vitiorum copia? quando
maior avaritiae patuit sinus? alea quando
hos animos? Neque enim loculis comitantibus itur
ad casum tabulae, posita sed luditur arca.
Proelia quanta illic dispensatore videbis
armigero? Simplexne furor sestertia centum
perdere et horrenti tunicam non reddere servo?

74 aliquis ς.

Quis totidem erexit villas, quis fercula septem
secreto cenavit avus? Nunc sportula primo
limine parva sedet, turbae rapienda togatae.
Ille tamen faciem prius inspicit et trepidat, ne
suppositus venias ac falso nomine poscas.
Agnitus accipies; iubet a praecone vocari
ipsos Troiugenas; nam vexant limen et ipsi
nobiscum. "Da praetori, da deinde tribuno."
Sed libertinus prior est. "Prior," inquit, "ego adsum:
cur timeam, dubitemve locum defendere, quamvis
natus ad Euphraten, molles quod in aure fenestrae
arguerint, licet ipse negem? sed quinque tabernae
quadringenta parant. Quid confert purpura maior
optandum, si Laurenti custodit in agro
conductas Corvinus oves, ego possideo plus
Pallante et Licinis?" Exspectent ergo tribuni;
vincant divitiae, sacro ne cedat honori,
nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis:
quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum
maiestas: etsi funesta Pecunia templo
nondum habitat, nullas nummorum ereximus aras,
ut colitur Pax atque Fides, Victoria, Virtus,
quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido.
Sed cum summus honor finito computet anno,
sportula quid referat, quantum rationibus addat:
quid facient comites quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est
et panis fumusque domi? Densissima centum
quadrantes lectica petit, sequiturque maritum
languida vel praegnans et circumducitur uxor.
Hic petit absenti, nota iam callidus arte,
ostendens vacuam et clausam pro coniuge sellam.

114 habitat *P.* habitas *p.* *ω.*

"Galla mea est," inquit. "Citius dimitte: moraris?
profer, Galla, caput: noli vexare, quiescet."

127-146.—*Each day has its fixed routine of duties, and at the end, the weary client has to purchase a scanty dinner, while the patron dines by himself off the best,—gluttony which sometimes brings its own retribution with it.*

Ipse dies pulchro distinguitur ordine rerum:
sportula, deinde forum, iurisque peritus Apollo
atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere
nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches.
Vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes,
votaque deponunt; quamquam longissima cenae
spes homini: caulis miseris atque ignis emendus.
Optima silvarum interea pelagique vorabit
rex horum, vacuisque toris tantum ipse iacebit.
Nam de tot pulchris et latis orbibus et tam
antiquis una comedunt patrimonia mensa.
Nullus iam parasitus erit: sed quis feret istas
luxuriae sordes? Quanta est gula, quae sibi totos
ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum?
Poena tamen praesens, cum tu deponis amictus
turgidus et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.
Hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus.
It nova, nec tristis, per cunctas fabula cenas;
ducitur iratis plaudendum funus amicis.

147-171.—*Vice is now at its zenith; but where to find in our writers ability equal to the task of exposing it? There was formerly liberty of speech, but now—show up a Tigellinus, and you will see the result. The times in which Lucilius lived are over.*

Nil erit ulterius, quod nostris moribus addat

126 quiescit *p*. 143 crudus *P*. crudum *p*.

posteritas; eadem cupient facientque minores;
omne in praecipiti vitium stetit. Utere velis,
totos pande sinus. Dices hic forsitan, "Unde
ingenium par materiae? unde illa priorum
scribendi, quodcumque animo flagrante liberet,
simplicitas, cuius non audeo dicere nomen?
Quid refert dictis ignoscat Mucius, an non?
Pone Tigellinum, taeda lucebis in illa,
qua stantes ardent, qui fixo pectore fumant,
et latum media sulcum deducit arena."
Qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita, vehatur
pensilibus plumis, atque illinc despiciat nos?
"Cum veniet contra, digito compesce labellum:
accusator erit, qui verbum dixerit, Hic est.
Securus licet Aenean Rutulumque ferocem
committas, nulli gravis est percussus Achilles,
aut multum quaesitus Hylas urnamque secutus:
ense velut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens
infremuit, rubet auditor, cui frigida mens est
criminibus; tacita sudant praecordia culpa.
Inde irae et lacrimae; tecum prius ergo voluta
haec animo ante tubas: galeatum sero duelli
paenitet."—Experiar, quid concedatur in illos,
quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

SATURA III

1-9.—*Though grieved at my friend's departure, I think he is wise to leave Rome and its thousand dangers and annoyances.*

QUAMVIS digressu veteris confusus amici,

150 dices *P.* dicas *p.* ω. 155 lucebit *P.* 156 gutture *p.* ω.
157 deducit *P.* 161 versum *P.* 160 anime *Valla.*

laudo tamen, vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
destinet atque unum civem donare Sibyllae.
Ianua Baiarum est et gratum litus amoeni
secessus. Ego vel Prochytam praepono Suburae.
Nam quid tam miserum, tam solum vidimus, ut non
deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus
tectorum adsiduos ac mille pericula saevae
urbis, et Augusto recitantes mense poetas?

10-20.—*While his goods are being lifted into the waggon, Umbricius stands for a time near the valley of Egeria, now, alas, let out to Jews, and spoilt by artificial adornment.*

Sed dum tota domus reda componitur una,
substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam.
Hic, ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae
nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Iudaeis, quorum cophinus faenumque supellex;—
omnis enim populo mercedem pendere iussa est
arbor, et eiectis mendicat silva Camenis—
In vallem Egeriae descendimus et speluncas
dissimiles veris. Quanto praesentius esset
numen aquis, viridi si margine clauderet undas
herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum.

21-40.—*Since there is no room for honourable employment, I will away, while there is time. Those may stay who can stoop to the base means and contrivances necessary to secure wealth and fortune.*

Hic tunc Umbricius, "Quando artibus," inquit, "honestis
nullus in urbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum,
res hodie minor est, here quam fuit, atque eadem cras

18 praesentius *P.* praestantius *ω.* 19 aquis *P.* aque *p. ω*

deteret exiguis aliquid, proponimus illuc
ire, fatigatas ubi Daedalus exuit alas,
dum nova canities, dum prima et recta senectus,
dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat, et pedibus me
porto meis, nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.
Cedamus patria: vivant Artorius istic
et Catulus; maneant qui nigrum in candida vertunt,
quîs facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus,
siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver,
et praebere caput domina venale sub hasta.
Quondam hi cornicines et municipalis arenae
perpetui comites, notaeque per oppida buccae,
munera nunc edunt et, verso pollice, vulgus
quem iubet, occidunt populariter: inde reversi
conducunt foricas: et cur non? omnia cum sint
quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
extollit, quotiens voluit Fortuna iocari.

41-57.—*What can I do at Rome? I can't lie or flatter, or poison or steal. I have no criminal secrets to bind me to the great, nor do I wish to secure their friendship at such a price.*

Quid Romae faciam? Mentiri nescio; librum,
si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere; motus
astrorum ignoro; funus promittere patris
nec volo, nec possum; ranarum viscera nunquam
inspexi. Ferre ad nuptam quae mittit adulter,
quae mandat, norint alii: me nemo ministro
fur erit, atque ideo nulli comes exeo, tamquam
mancus et exstinctae, corpus non utile, dextrae.
Quis nunc diligitur, nisi conscius, et cuï fervens

38 et cur non? *P*. et cur non omnia? *ω*.

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quem iubet, occidunt populariter: inde reversi
conducunt foricas: et cur non? omnia cum sint
quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
extollit, quotiens voluit Fortuna iocari.

41-57.—*What can I do at Rome? I can't lie or flatter, poison or steal. I have no criminal secrets to hold over the great, nor do I wish to secure their friendship at such a price.*

Quid Romae faciam? Mentiri nescio; librum,
si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere; motus
astrorum ignoro; funus promittere patris
nec volo, nec possum; ranarum viscera numquam
inspexi. Ferre ad nuptam quae mittit adulter,
quae mandat, norint alii: me nemo ministro
fur erit, atque ideo nulli comes exeo, tamquam
mancus et exstinctae corpus non utile dextrae.
[illegible] nunc diligitur [illegible] cius, et cui fervens

38 et [illegible] ur non omnia [illegible]

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gymnasia atque audi facinus maioris abollae.
Stoicus occidit Baream, delator amicum,
discipulumque senex, ripa nutritus in illa,
ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi.
Non est Romano cuiquam locus hic, ubi regnat
Protogenes aliquis vel Diphilus aut Hermarchus,
qui gentis vitio nunquam partitur amicum,
solus habet. Nam cum facilem stillavit in aurem
exiguum de naturae patriaeque veneno,
limine summoveor; perierunt tempora longi
servitii: nusquam minor est iactura clientis.

126-163.—*At Rome there is no place for a poor man: character is nothing, wealth everything.*

Quod porro officium, ne nobis blandiar, aut quod
pauperis hic meritum, si curet nocte togatus
currere, cum praetor lictorem impellat et ire
praecipitem iubeat, dudum vigilantibus orbis,
ne prior Albinam et Modiam collega salutet?
Divitis hic servo claudit latus ingenuorum
filius: alter enim, quantum in legione tribuni
accipiunt, donat Calvinae vel Catienae.
Da testem Romae tam sanctum, quam fuit hospes
numinis Idaei; procedat vel Numa vel qui
servavit trepidam flagranti ex aede Minervam:
protinus ad censum, de moribus ultima fiet
quaestio. 'Quot pascit servos? quot possidet agri
iugera? quam multa magnaque paropside cenat?'
Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,
tantum habet et fidei. Iures licet et Samothracum

131 servo *P.* servi *p.* *ω.*

Et nostrorum aras, contemnere fulmina pauper
creditur atque deos, dis ignoscentibus ipsis.
Quid quod materiam praebet causasque iocorum
omnibus hic idem, si foeda et scissa lacerna,
si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter
pelle patet: vel si, consuto vulnere, crassum
atque recens linum ostendit non una cicatrix?
Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
quam quod ridiculos homines facit. 'Exeat,' inquit,
'si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri,
cuius res legi non sufficit, et sedeant hic
lenonum pueri quocumque e fornice nati,
hic plaudat nitidi praeconis filius inter
pinnirapi cultos iuvenes iuvenesque lanistae.'
Sic libitum vano, qui nos distinxit, Othoni.
Quis gener hic placuit censu minor atque puellae
sarcinulis impar? quis pauper scribitur heres?
quando in consilio est aedilibus? Agmine facto
debuerant olim tenues migrasse Quirites.

164-189.—*At Rome, too, everything is expensive. In the country there is still simplicity in dress, but here all is extravagance and glitter; the commonest civility must be paid for.*

Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
res angusta domi: sed Romae durior illis
conatus; magno hospitium miserabile, magno
servorum ventres et frugi cenula magno.
Fictilibus cenare pudet, quod turpe negabis
translatus subito ad Marsos mensamque Sabellam,
contentusque illic veneto duroque cucullo.

156 in fornice *p.* ω. 168 necabis *P.* negavit ω.

Pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua
nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus. Ipsa dierum
festorum herboso colitur si quando theatro
maiestas, tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
exodium, cum personae pallentis hiatum
in gremio matris formidat rusticus infans,
aequales habitus illic similemque videbis
orchestram et populum: clari velamen honoris,
sufficiunt tunicae summis aedilibus albae.
Hic ultra vires habitus nitor; hic aliquid plus
quam satis est interdum aliena sumitur arca.
Commune id vitium est: hic vivimus ambitiosa
paupertate omnes. Quid te moror? Omnia Romae
cum pretio. Quid das, ut Cossum aliquando salutes?
ut te respiciat clauso Veiento labello?
'Ille metit barbam,' 'crinem hic deponit amati;'
plena domus libis venalibus. Accipe, et istud
fermentum tibi habe: praestare tributa clientes
cogimur et cultis augere peculia servis.

190-211.—*Then there are the dangers of the streets, and the chance of losing one's little all, unpitied, by fire.*

Quis timet aut timuit gelida Praeneste ruinam,
aut positis nemorosa inter iuga Volsiniis, aut
simplicibus Gabiis, aut proni Tiburis arce?
Nos urbem colimus tenui tibicine fultam
magna parte sui; nam sic labentibus obstat
vilicus et veteris rimae cum texit hiatum
securos pendente iubet dormire ruina.
Vivendum est illic, ubi nulla incendia, nulli
nocte metus. Iam poscit aquam, iam frivola transfert

Ucalegon; tabulata tibi iam tertia fumant;
tu nescis: nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis,
ultimus ardebit, quem tegula sola tuetur
a pluvia, molles ubi reddunt ova columbae.
Lectus erat Codro Procula minor, urceoli sex,
ornamentum abaci; nec non et parvulus infra
cantharus, et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron;
iamque vetus Graecos servabat cista libellos,
et divina opici rodebant carmina mures.
Nil habuit Codrus: quis enim negat? et tamen illud
perdidit infelix totum nihil: ultimus autem
aerumnae est cumulus, quod nudum et frusta rogantem
nemo cibo, nemo hospitio tectoque iuvabit.

212-222.—*If a rich man's house is burnt, every one is eager to contribute something to make up his losses.*

Si magna Asturici cecidit domus, horrida mater,
pullati proceres, differt vadimonia praetor;
tunc gemimus casus urbis, tunc odimus ignem.
Ardet adhuc, et iam accurrit qui marmora donet,
conferat impensas: hic nuda et candida signa,
hic aliquid praeclarum Euphranoris et Polycliti,
phaecasiatorum vetera ornamenta deorum,
hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Minervam,
hic modium argenti: meliora et plura reponit
Persicus, orborum lautissimus et merito iam
suspectus, tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes.

210 frustra *P.* 214 gemimus *F.* geminus *P.*
218 haec Asianorum *P.*

223-231.—*I would advise you to buy a little house and garden in some country town: you could get one for less than you now pay for a single garret in Rome.*

Si potes avelli Circensibus, optima Sorae
aut Fabrateriae domus aut Frusinone paratur,
quanti nunc tenebras unum conducis in annum.
Hortulus hic puteusque brevis nec reste movendus
in tenues plantas facili diffunditur haustu.
Vive bidentis amans et culti vilicus horti,
unde epulum possis centum dare Pythagoreis.
Est aliquid, quocumque loco, quocumque recessu,
unius sese dominum fecisse lacertae.

232-238.—*In Rome there are so many noises at night that sleep is well-nigh impossible.*

Plurimus hic aeger moritur vigilando: sed illum
languorem peperit cibus imperfectus et haerens
ardenti stomacho; nam quae meritoria somnum
admittunt? Magnis opibus dormitur in urbe:
inde caput morbi; redarum transitus arto
vicorum in flexu et stantis convicia mandrae
eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis.

239-267.—*Then there are the manifold dangers of the streets.*

Si vocat officium, turba cedente vehetur
dives et ingenti curret super ora Liburno,
atque obiter leget aut scribet vel dormiet intus;
namque facit somnum clausa lectica fenestra.
Ante tamen veniet: nobis properantibus obstat
unda prior, magno populus premit agmine lumbos
qui sequitur; ferit hic cubito, ferit assere duro

240 Liburno *P*. ω. liburna *S*.

alter: at hic tignum capiti incutit, ille metretam.
Pinguia crura luto, planta mox undique magna
calcor, et in digito clavus mihi militis haeret.
Nonne vides quanto celebretur sportula fumo?
centum convivae; sequitur sua quemque culina.
Corbulo vix ferret tot vasa ingentia, tot res
impositas capiti, quot recto vertice portat
servulus infelix et cursu ventilat ignem.
Scinduntur tunicae sartae modo: longa coruscat
serraco veniente abies, atque altera pinum
plaustra vehunt; nutant alte populoque minantur:
nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat
axis, et eversum fudit super agmina montem,
quid superest e corporibus? quis membra, quis ossa
invenit? Obtritum vulgi perit omne cadaver
more animae. Domus interea secura patellas
iam lavat et bucca foculum excitat, et sonat unctis
striglibus, et pleno componit lintea gutto.
Haec inter pueros varie properantur: at ille
iam sedet in ripa taetrumque novicius horret
porthmea, nec sperat caenosi gurgitis alnum
infelix nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.

268-277.—*Then there is the danger of a broken head, or a drenching from open windows.*

Respice nunc alia ac diversa pericula noctis:
quod spatium tectis sublimibus, unde cerebrum
testa ferit, quotiens rimosa et curta fenestris
vasa cadunt; quanto percussum pondere signent
et laedant silicem. Possis ignavus haberi
et subiti casus improvidus, ad cenam si

259 de *p. ω.*

intestatus eas : adeo tot fata, quot illa
nocte patent vigiles, te praetereunte, fenestrae;
ergo optes votumque feras miserabile tecum,
ut sint contentae patulas defundere pelves.

278-322.—*Drunken revellers too and swashbucklers are to be met with, as well as robbers and footpads.*

Ebrius ac petulans, qui nullum forte cecidit,
dat poenas, noctem patitur lugentis amicum
Pelidae, cubat in faciem, mox deinde supinus.
Ergo non aliter poterit dormire. Quibusdam
somnum rixa facit : sed, quamvis improbus annis
atque mero fervens, cavet hunc, quem coccina laena
vitari iubet et comitum longissimus ordo,
multum praeterea flammarum et aenea lampas.
Me, quem luna solet deducere vel breve lumen
candelae, cuius dispenso et tempero filum,
contemnit. Miserae cognosce prooemia rixae,
si rixa est, ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.
Stat contra starique iubet; parere necesse est;
nam quid agas, cum te furiosus cogat et idem
fortior? "Unde venis?" exclamat: "cuius aceto,
cuius conche tumes? quis tecum sectile porrum
sutor et elixi vervecis labra comedit?
Nil mihi respondes? aut dic, aut accipe calcem.
Ede, ubi consistas; in qua te quaero proseucha?"
Dicere si temptes aliquid tacitusve recedas,
tantumdem est; feriunt pariter; vadimonia deinde
irati faciunt. Libertas pauperis haec est;
pulsatus rogat et pugnis concisus adorat,
ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.

Nec tamen haec tantum metuas: nam qui spoliet te
non deerit, clausis domibus, postquam omnis ubique
fixa catenatae siluit compago tabernae.
Interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem,
armato quotiens tutae custode tenentur
et Pomptina palus et Gallinaria pinus.
Sic inde huc omnes tamquam ad vivaria currunt.
Qua fornace graves, qua non incude, catenae?
Maximus in vinclis ferri modus, ut timeas, ne
vomer deficiat, ne marrae et sarcula desint.
Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
saecula, quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.
His alias poteram et plures subnectere causas:
sed iumenta vocant, et sol inclinat; eundum est;
nam mihi commota iamdudum mulio virga
adnuit. Ergo vale nostri memor, et quotiens te
Roma tuo refici properantem reddet Aquino,
me quoque ad Helvinam Cererem vestramque Dianam
converte a Cumis. Saturarum ego, ni pudet illas,
auditor gelidos veniam caligatus in agros."

SATURA IV

1-27.—*Crispinus is again the subject of our Satire; this time for a piece of extravagance: he gave* 6000 *sesterces for a mullet.*

Ecce iterum Crispinus, et est mihi saepe vocandus
ad partes, monstrum nulla virtute redemptum
a vitiis, aegrae solaque libidine fortes

322 auditor *P.* adiutor *p.* ω.

deliciae; viduas tantum spernatur adulter.
Quid refert igitur, quantis iumenta fatiget
porticibus, quanta nemorum vectetur in umbra,
iugera quot vicina foro, quas emerit aedes?
Nemo malus felix, minime corruptor et idem
incestus, cum quo nuper vittata iacebat
sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos.
Sed nunc de factis levioribus: et tamen alter
si fecisset idem, caderet sub iudice morum.
Nam quod turpe bonis Titio Seioque, decebat
Crispinum. Quid agas, cum dira et foedior omni
crimine persona est? Mullum sex milibus emit,
aequantem sane paribus sestertia libris,
ut perhibent qui de magnis maiora loquuntur.
Consilium laudo artificis, si munere tanto
praecipuam in tabulis ceram senis abstulit orbi.
Est ratio ulterior, magnae si misit amicae,
quae vehitur clauso latis specularibus antro.
Nil tale exspectes: emit sibi. Multa videmus,
quae miser et frugi non fecit Apicius. Hoc tu,
succinctus patria quondam, Crispine, papyro
hoc pretio squamam? Potuit fortasse minoris
piscator, quam piscis, emi. Provincia tanti
vendit agros: sed maiores Apulia vendit.

28-36.—*If a mere buffoon of the palace is so gluttonous, what shall we expect from the emperor? Listen and you shall hear.*

Quales tunc epulas ipsum glutisse putamus
induperatorem, cum tot sestertia, partem
exiguam et modicae sumptam de margine cenae,

9 vitiata *P.* 25 pretium *p.* ω; squame *P.* ω. squamam *S. Valla.*

purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati,
iam princeps equitum, magna qui voce solebat
vendere municipes fracta de merce siluros?
Incipe, Calliope, licet et considere: non est
cantandum, res vera agitur: narrate, puellae
Pierides: prosit mihi vos dixisse puellas.

37-71. — *When Domitian was ruling, a Picenian fisherman caught a huge turbot, which he thought it advisable to present to the emperor.*

Cum iam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
ultimus, et calvo serviret Roma Neroni,
incidit Adriaci spatium admirabile rhombi
ante domum Veneris, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,
implevitque sinus: neque enim minor haeserat illis,
quos operit glacies Maeotica, ruptaque tandem
solibus effundit torpentis ad ostia Ponti,
desidia tardos et longo frigore pingues.
Destinat hoc monstrum cymbae linique magister
pontifici summo. Quis enim proponere talem
aut emere auderet, cum plena et litora multo
delatore forent? Dispersi protinus algae
inquisitores agerent cum remige nudo,
non dubitaturi fugitivum dicere piscem,
depastumque diu vivaria Caesaris, inde
elapsum veterem ad dominum debere reverti.
Si quid Palfurio, si credimus Armillato,
quidquid conspicuum pulchrumque est aequore toto,
res fisci est, ubicumque natat. Donabitur ergo,
ne pereat. Iam letifero cedente pruinis
autumno, iam quartanam sperantibus aegris,

33 facta *P.* 43 torpentis *P.* torrentis *S.*

stridebat deformis hiems praedamque recentem
servabat: tamen hic properat, velut urgeat Auster:
utque lacus suberant, ubi, quamquam diruta, servat
ignem Troianum et Vestam colit Alba minorem,
obstitit intranti miratrix turba parumper.
Ut cessit, facili patuerunt cardine valvae;
exclusi spectant admissa opsonia Patres.
Itur ad Atriden. Tum Picens, "accipe," dixit,
"privatis maiora focis: genialis agatur
iste dies: propera stomachum laxare saginis,
et tua servatum consume in saecula rhombum.
Ipse capi voluit." Quid apertius? et tamen illi
surgebant cristae. Nihil est, quod credere de se
non possit, cum laudatur dis aequa potestas.

72-122.—*The emperor summons his councillors to deliberate on the weighty question of providing a dish of sufficient size for the dainty. Pegasus, Crispus, the Acilii, Rubrius, and several others, hasten to the court.*

Sed deerat pisci patinae mensura; vocantur
ergo in consilium proceres, quos oderat ille,
in quorum facie miserae magnaeque sedebat
pallor amicitiae. Primus, clamante Liburno,
"currite, iam sedit"—rapta properabat abolla
Pegasus, attonitae positus modo vilicus urbi.
Anne aliud tunc praefecti? quorum optimus atque
interpres legum sanctissimus, omnia quamquam
temporibus diris tractanda putabat inermi
iustitia. Venit et Crispi iucunda senectus,
cuius erant mores, qualis facundia, mite
ingenium. Maria ac terras populosque regenti

67 saginam *P.* saginis *S. p. ω.*

quis comes utilior, si clade et peste sub illa
saevitiam damnare et honestum adferre liceret
consilium? Sed quid violentius aure tyranni,
cum quo de pluviis aut aestibus aut nimboso
vere locuturi fatum pendebat amici?
Ille igitur numquam direxit brachia contra
torrentem, nec civis erat, qui libera posset
verba animi proferre et vitam impendere vero.
Sic multas hiemes atque octogesima vidit
solstitia, his armis illa quoque tutus in aula.
Proximus eiusdem properabat Acilius aevi
cum iuvene, indigno, quem mors tam saeva maneret
et domini gladiis tam festinata: sed olim
prodigio par est in nobilitate senectus:
unde fit, ut malim fraterculus esse Gigantis.
Profuit ergo nihil misero, quod cominus ursos
figebat Numidas, Albana nudus arena
venator. Quis enim iam non intellegat artes
patricias? Quis priscum illud miratur acumen,
Brute, tuum? facile est barbato imponere regi.
Nec melior vultu, quamvis ignobilis, ibat
Rubrius, offensae veteris reus atque tacendae,
et tamen improbior saturam scribente cinaedo.
Montani quoque venter adest, abdomine tardus,
et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo,
quantum vix redolent duo funera; saevior illo
Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro,
et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
Fuscus, marmorea meditatus proelia villa,
et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo,
qui nunquam visae flagrabat amore puellae,
grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum:

Caecus adulator, dirusque a ponte satelles,
dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes,
blandaque devexae iactaret basia redae.
Nemo magis rhombum stupuit: nam plurima dixit
in laevum conversus: at illi dextra iacebat
bellua. Sic pugnas Cilicis laudabat et ictus,
et pegma et pueros inde ad velaria raptos.

123-135.—*Veiento thinks the animal a portent; Montanus, more practical, proposes that a dish should be forthwith made.*

Non cedit Veiento, sed ut fanaticus, oestro
percussus, Bellona, tuo, divinat et, "ingens
omen habes," inquit, "magni clarique triumphi:
regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
excidet Arviragus: peregrina est bellua: cernis
erectas in terga sudes?" Hoc defuit unum
Fabricio, patriam ut rhombi memoraret et annos.
"Quidnam igitur censes? conciditur?" "Absit ab illo
dedecus hoc," Montanus ait. "Testa alta paretur,
quae tenui muro spatiosum colligat orbem.
Debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus.
Argillam atque rotam citius properate: sed ex hoc
tempore iam, Caesar, figuli tua castra sequantur."

136-154.—*This decided, the friends of the emperor were dismissed as unceremoniously as they had been summoned.*

Vicit digna viro sententia: noverat ille
luxuriam imperii veterem noctesque Neronis
iam medias aliamque famem, cum pulmo Falerno
arderet. Nulli maior fuit usus edendi
tempestate mea. Circeis nata forent, an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo

ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu;
et semel aspecti litus dicebat echini.
Surgitur, et misso proceres exire iubentur
consilio, quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem
traxerat attonitos et festinare coactos,
tamquam de Cattis aliquid torvisque Sycambris
dicturus, tamquam diversis partibus orbis
anxia praecipiti venisset epistula pinna.
Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
tempora saevitiae, claras quibus abstulit urbi
illustresque animas impune et vindice nullo.
Sed periit, postquam Cerdonibus esse timendus
coeperat: hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti.

SATURA V

1-11.—*Better to be a beggar on the road than a professional parasite,—one who will endure any indignity for a meal.*

Si te propositi nondum pudet atque eadem est mens,
ut bona summa putes aliena vivere quadra;
si potes illa pati, quae nec Sarmentus iniquas
Caesaris ad mensas, nec vilis Gabba tulisset:
quamvis iurato metuam tibi credere testi.
Ventre nihil novi frugalius. Hoc tamen ipsum
defecisse puta, quod inani sufficit alvo:
nulla crepido vacat? nusquam pons et tegetis pars
dimidia brevior? tantine iniuria cenae?
tam ieiuna fames, cum possit honestius illic
et tremere et sordes farris mordere canini?

147 Getis *p.* ω. 10 possis ω.

12-23.—*You are invited, perhaps, once in three months to fill a vacant place at table, and this is the full payment for your broken sleep and your morning race to the "Salutatio."*

Primo fige loco, quod tu, discumbere iussus,
mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum.
Fructus amicitae magnae cibus: imputat hunc rex,
et, quamvis rarum, tamen imputat. Ergo duos post
si libuit menses neglectum adhibere clientem,
tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto,
"una simus," ait. Votorum summa: quid ultra
quaeris? Habet Trebius, propter quod rumpere somnum
debeat et ligulas dimittere, sollicitus ne
tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem,
sideribus dubiis, aut illo tempore, quo se
frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae.

24-29.—*And what a dinner you get! Heady wine which leads to brawls and wounds.*

Qualis cena tamen? vinum, quod sucida nolit
lana pati: de conviva Corybanta videbis.
Iurgia proludunt: sed mox et pocula torques
saucius et rubra deterges vulnera mappa.
Inter vos quotiens libertorumque cohortem
pugna Saguntina fervet commissa lagona.

30-37.—*While your host drinks of the best and oldest.*

Ipse capillato diffusum consule potat,
calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uvam,
cardiaco numquam cyathum missurus amico,
cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de
Setinis, cuius patriam titulumque senectus
delevit multa veteris fuligine testae:

quale coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant
Brutorum et Cassi natalibus.

37-41.—*He again is served in amber or jewelled cups, while if a golden goblet is by chance entrusted to you, there is a slave behind to watch you.*

Ipse capaces
Heliadum crustas et inaequales berullos
Virro tenet phiala: tibi non committitur aurum;
vel, si quando datur, custos adfixus ibidem,
qui numeret gemmas, unguesque observet acutos.

42-48.—*Aeneas had his jewels in his sword-sheath, Virro transfers them to his goblets, but he gives you some old Vatinian cup to drink from, only fit to be exchanged for sulphur matches.*

Da veniam: praeclara illi laudatur iaspis;
nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert
a digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat
ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae.
Tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem
siccabis calicem nasorum quattuor ac iam
quassatum, et rupto poscentem sulfura vitro.

49-60.—*Your host has iced-water and a beautiful oriental slave to hand it to him. You have very different water and a Gaetulian outrider for your Ganymede.*

Si stomachus domini fervet vinoque ciboque,
frigidior Geticis petitur decocta pruinis:
Non eadem vobis poni modo vina querebar:
vos aliam potatis aquam. Tibi pocula cursor
Gaetulus dabit, aut nigri manus ossea Mauri,

38 berullos *P.* berullo *S.* 39 phialas *p.* *ω*.

et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem,
clivosae veheris dum per monumenta Latinae.
Flos Asiae ante ipsum, pretio maiore paratus
quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci,
et, ne te teneam, Romanorum omnia regum
frivola. Quod cum ita sit, tu Gaetulum Ganymedem
respice, cum sities.

60-66.—*His attendant scorns to serve a client, and thinks it quite enough that you should sit at all while he has to stand.*

Nescit tot milibus emptus
pauperibus miscere puer: sed forma, sed aetas
digna supercilio. Quando ad te pervenit ille?
quando rogatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister?
Quippe indignatur veteri parere clienti,
quodque aliquid poscas et quod se stante recumbas.
Maxima quaeque domus servis est plena superbis.

67-75.—*Then you have hard and mouldy bread: he the best wheaten flour; and if you take this instead of your own, the slave insults you.*

Ecce, alius quanto porrexit murmure panem
vix fractum, solidae iam mucida frusta farinae,
quae genuinum agitent, non admittentia morsum:
sed tener et niveus mollique siligine fictus
servatur domino. Dextram cohibere memento;
salva sit artoptae reverentia: finge tamen te
improbulum, superest illic, qui ponere cogat.
"Vis tu consuetis, audax conviva, canistris
impleri, panisque tui novisse colorem?"

70 fictus *P.* factus ω.

76-79.—*And this was what you left your home and braved the weather for so long!*

"Scilicet hoc fuerat, propter quod saepe, relicta
coniuge, per montem adversum gelidasque cucurri
Esquilias, fremeret saeva cum grandine vernus
Iupiter et multo stillaret paenula nimbo?"

80-91.—*He has a lobster served in asparagus, you a crab pinched up in half an egg: he uses Venafran oil, while you must be content with African oil, which smells of the lamp.*

Aspice, quam longo distinguat pectore lancem,
quae fertur domino, squilla, et quibus undique saepta
asparagis, qua despiciat convivia cauda,
cum venit excelsi manibus sublata ministri.
Sed tibi dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo
ponitur exigua, feralis cena, patella.
Ipse Venafrano piscem perfundit: at hic, qui
pallidus adfertur misero tibi caulis, olebit
lanternam: illud enim vestris datur alveolis, quod
canna Micipsarum prora subvexit acuta;
propter quod Romae cum Boccare nemo lavatur,
quod tutos etiam facit a serpentibus atris.

92-98.—*Our seas are well-nigh emptied of their fish, and the provinces are compelled to furnish materials for Roman gluttony.*

Mullus erit domini, quem misit Corsica, vel quem
Tauromenitanae rupes, quando omne peractum est
et iam defecit nostrum mare, dum gula saevit,
retibus adsiduis penitus scrutante macello
proxima, nec patimur Tyrrhenum crescere piscem.

80 distendat ω. 91 Afros ς.

Instruit ergo focum provincia: sumitur illinc
quod captator emat Laenas, Aurelia vendat.

99-106.—*Virro is served with a lamprey from the Sicilian Straits; before you is placed a pike caught almost in the drains of the Subura.*

Virroni muraena datur, quae maxima venit
gurgite de Siculo: nam, dum se continet Auster,
dum sedet et siccat madidas in carcere pinnas,
contemnunt mediam temeraria lina Charybdim.
Vos anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae,
aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus, et ipse
vernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca,
et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburae.

107-113.—*"We do not expect to find in you, Virro, a second Seneca or Piso, but we do claim that you should dine as a citizen among citizens."*

Ipsi pauca velim, facilem si praebeat aurem.
"Nemo petit, modicis quae mittebantur amicis
a Seneca, quae Piso bonus, quae Cotta solebat
largiri: namque et titulis et fascibus olim
maior habebatur donandi gloria: solum
poscimus, ut cenes civiliter. Hoc fac et esto,
esto, ut nunc multi, dives tibi, pauper amicis."

114-119.—*His next course is a goose's liver, or a wild boar,—then, if the weather suits, some mushrooms from Libya, which are of much more importance to our epicures than all its corn.*

Anseris ante ipsum magni iecur, anseribus par
altilis et flavi dignus ferro Meleagri

112 faciet *P.*

spumat aper: post hunc tradentur tubera, si ver
tunc erit et facient optata tonitrua cenas
maiores. "Tibi habe frumentum," Alledius inquit,
"o Libye: disiunge boves, dum tubera mittas."

120-124.—*Meanwhile, you may see the carver going through his evolutions and observing the rules of his art.*

Structorem interea, ne qua indignatio desit,
saltantem spectes et chironomunta volanti
cultello, donec peragat dictata magistri
omnia. Nec minimo sane discrimine refert,
quo gestu lepores et quo gallina secetur.

125-131.—*If you would avoid summary ejection, hold your peace and take no liberties.*

Duceris planta, velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus,
et ponere foris, si quid temptaveris umquam
hiscere, tamquam habeas tria nomina. Quando propinat
Virro tibi sumitque tuis contacta labellis
pocula? quis vestrum temerarius usque adeo, quis
perditus, ut dicat regi, "bibe?" Plurima sunt, quae
non audent homines pertusa dicere laena.

132-140.—*Should you by some chance come into a fortune, Virro will become your friend and brother, and nothing will be too good for you. Though, even then, you will do well to remain childless.*

Quadringenta tibi si quis deus aut similis dis
et melior fatis donaret, homuncio quantus
ex nihilo fieres, quantus Virronis amicus.
"Da Trebio! pone ad Trebium! vis, frater, ab istis
Ilibus?" O nummi, vobis hunc praestat honorem,

116 fumat *p. ω.*; raduntur *ω.*

vos estis fratres. Dominus tamen et domini rex
si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aula
luserit Aeneas, nec filia dulcior illo:
iucundum et carum sterilis facit uxor amicum.

141-145.—*As it is, you may have three at a birth, and your patron will be as condescending as before.*

Sed tua nunc Mycale pariat licet, et pueros tres
in gremium patris fundat simul: ipse loquaci
gaudebit nido; viridem thoraca iubebit
adferri, minimasque nuces assemque rogatum,
ad mensam quotiens parasitus venerit infans.

146-155.—*For dessert Virro and his friends will have apples worthy of the garden of the Hesperides; you will have fruit such as performing monkeys are glad to gnaw.*

Vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis,
boletus domino; sed quales Claudius edit
ante illum uxoris, post quem nil amplius edit.
Virro sibi et reliquis Virronibus illa iubebit
poma dari, quorum solo pascaris odore:
qualia perpetuus Phaeacum autumnus habebat,
credere quae possis subrepta sororibus Afris:
tu scabie frueris mali, quod in aggere rodit,
qui tegitur parma et galea, metuensque flagelli
discit ab hirsuta iaculum torquere capella.

156-173.—*Virro does all this of set purpose to annoy you. Nor is he wrong: he sees your sordid motive and he fittingly rewards it. Your next step will be to become a jester and submit to the punishment of a slave.*

Forsitan impensae Virronem parcere credas.

141 Mygale *P.* 142 semel *P.*
146 potentur *P. S.* ponentur *p. ω.*

Hoc agit, ut doleas: nam quae comoedia, mimus
quis melior plorante gula? Ergo omnia fiunt,
si nescis, ut per lacrimas effundere bilem
cogaris, pressoque diu stridere molari.
Tu tibi liber homo et regis conviva videris:
captum te nidore suae putat ille culinae:
nec male coniectat. Quis enim tam nudus, ut illum
bis ferat, Etruscum puero si contigit aurum,
vel nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro?
Spes bene cenandi vos decipit. "Ecce, dabit iam
semesum leporem atque aliquid de clunibus apri:
ad nos iam veniet minor altilis." Inde parato
intactoque omnes et stricto pane tacetis.
Ille sapit, qui te sic utitur. Omnia ferre
si potes, et debes. Pulsandum vertice raso
praebebis quandoque caput, nec dura timebis
flagra pati, his epulis et tali dignus amico.

LIBER TERTIUS

SATURA VII

1-16.—*Caesar is the poet's only friend. Many through want of a patron have turned to all sorts of mean occupations, and better to do that than to turn false-witness as Oriental freedmen do.*

Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum:
solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas
respexit, cum iam celebres notique poetae
balneolum Gabiis, Romae conducere furnos
temptarent, nec foedum alii, nec turpe putarent

169 iacetis *P.*

praecones fieri; cum, desertis Aganippes
vallibus, esuriens migraret in Atria Clio.
Nam si Pieria quadrans tibi nullus in umbra
ostendatur, ames nomen victumque Machaerae
et vendas potius, commissa quod auctio vendit
stantibus, oenophorum, tripodes, armaria, cistas,
Alcithoen Pacci, Thebas et Terea Fausti.
Hoc satius, quam si dicas sub iudice, "vidi,"
quod non vidisti. Faciant equites Asiani
quamquam, et Cappadoces faciant equites Bithyni,
altera quos nudo traducit gallica talo.

17-21.—*But henceforth no poet need so degrade himself.*

Nemo tamen studiis indignum ferre laborem
cogetur posthac, nectit quicunque canoris
eloquium vocale modis, laurumque momordit.
Hoc agite, O iuvenes: circumspicit et stimulat vos
materiamque sibi Ducis indulgentia quaerit.

22-35.—*If, however, you trust to any other help than Caesar's, you had better burn your parchment at once. The rich will admire you, but allow you to beg in your old age.*

Si qua aliunde putas rerum spectanda tuarum
praesidia, atque ideo croceae membrana tabellae
impletur: lignorum aliquid posce ocius et, quae
componis, dona Veneris, Telesine, marito,
aut clude et positos tinea pertunde libellos.
Frange miser calamum vigilataque proelia dele,
qui facis in parva sublimia carmina cella,
ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra.
Spes nulla ulterior: didicit iam dives avarus

16 Gallia *p.* ω. 22 exspectanda ω. 27 calamum *P.* calamos *p.* ω.

tantum admirari, tantum laudare disertos,
ut pueri Iunonis avem. Sed defluit aetas
et pelagi patiens et cassidis atque ligonis.
Taedia tunc subeunt animos, tunc seque suamque
Terpsichoren odit facunda et nuda senectus.

36-47.—*Your patron writes himself, and if he does anything for you, he only lends a musty room for your recitation, and expects you to pay for the chairs yourself.*

Accipe nunc artes. Ne quid tibi conferat iste,
quem colis, et Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta,
ipse facit versus atque uni cedit Homero
propter mille annos: et, si dulcedine famae
succensus recites, maculosas commodat aedes;
haec longe ferrata domus servire iubetur,
in qua sollicitas imitatur ianua portas.
Scit dare libertos extrema in parte sedentes
ordinis et magnas comitum disponere voces.
Nemo dabit regum, quanti subsellia constent
et quae conducto pendent anabathra tigillo,
quaeque reportandis posita est orchestra cathedris.

48-52.—*And yet the habit of scribbling, unprofitable as it is, is hard to escape from.*

Nos tamen hoc agimus tenuique in pulvere sulcos
ducimus et litus sterili versamus aratro.
Nam si discedas, laqueo tenet ambitiosi
consuetudo mali; tenet insanabile multos
scribendi cacoethes, et aegro in corde senescit.

40 maculosas *S.* Maculonis *P.* Maculonus *s.*

53-73.—*The true poet must be free from all paltry anxiety, as Horace and Vergil were. The divine afflatus ill consorts with contrivances for obtaining a blanket to sleep on.*

Sed vatem egregium, cui non sit publica vena,
qui nil expositum soleat deducere, nec qui
communi feriat carmen triviale moneta,—
hunc, qualem nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum,
anxietate carens animus facit, omnis acerbi
impatiens, cupidus silvarum aptusque bibendis
fontibus Aonidum. Neque enim cantare sub antro
Pierio thyrsumve potest contingere maesta
paupertas atque aeris inops, quo nocte dieque
corpus eget: satur est, cum dicit Horatius, Euhoe!
Quis locus ingenio, nisi cum se carmine solo
vexant, et dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque feruntur
pectora nostra, duas non admittentia curas?
Magnae mentis opus nec de lodice paranda
attonitae, currus et equos faciesque Deorum
aspicere, et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinys.
Nam si Vergilio puer et tolerabile deesset
hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri;
surda nihil gemeret grave bucina. Poscimus, ut sit
non minor antiquo Rubrenus Lappa cothurno,
cuius et alveolos et laenam pignerat Atreus.

74-78.—*Our patrons nowadays can better afford to keep a lion than a poet.*

Non habet infelix Numitor, quod mittat amico:
Quintillae quod donet, habet; nec defuit illi,
unde emeret multa pascendum carne leonem
iam domitum: constat leviori bellua sumptu
nimirum, et capiunt plus intestina poetae.

79-87.—*Rich poets—save the mark—like Lucan may be content with glory, but the majority find, as even Statius did, that nothing pays but pantomimes.*

Contentus fama iaceat Lucanus in hortis
marmoreis: at Serrano tenuique Saleio
gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?
Curritur ad vocem iucundam et carmen amicae
Thebaidos, laetam cum fecit Statius urbem
promisitque diem. Tanta dulcedine captos
afficit ille animos tantaque libidine vulgi
auditur: sed, cum fregit subsellia versu,
esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven.

88-97.—*It is the pantomime Paris who is now the only patron. If you won't stoop to supply him with what he wants—you may starve.*

Ille et militiae multis largitur honorem,
semenstri vatum digitos circumligat auro.
Quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio: tu Camerinos
et Baream, tu nobilium magna atria curas?
Praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.
Haud tamen invideas vati, quem pulpita pascunt.
Quis tibi Maecenas? quis nunc erit aut Proculeius
aut Fabius? quis Cotta iterum? quis Lentulus alter?
Tunc par ingenio pretium; tunc utile multis
pallere et vinum toto nescire Decembri.

98-104.—*Are historians, then, better off? Why, they hardly make enough to pay for the papyrus they write on.*

Vester porro labor fecundior, historiarum

scriptores ? perit hic plus temporis atque olei plus :
nullo quippe modo millesima pagina surgit
omnibus et multa crescit damnosa papyro.
Sic ingens rerum numerus iubet atque operum lex.
Quae tamen inde seges ? terrae quis fructus apertae ?
Quis dabit historico, quantum daret acta legenti ?

105-114.—*Or Causidici ? Why, the most energetic only makes a hundredth part of what a Charioteer of the Red can win.*

"Sed genus ignavum, quod lecto gaudet et umbra."
Dic igitur, quid causidicis civilia praestent
officia, et magno comites in fasce libelli ?
Ipsi magna sonant, sed tunc, cum creditor audit,
praecipue, vel si tetigit latus acrior illo,
qui venit ad dubium grandi cum codice nomen.
Tunc immensa cavi spirant mendacia folles
conspuiturque sinus. Veram deprendere messem
si libet : hinc centum patrimonia causidicorum,
parte alia solum russati pone Lacernae.

115-123.—*If they get paid at all, it is in kind with a ham or some cheap wine, and out of that the pragmatici must be paid their share.*

Consedere Duces : surgis tu pallidus Aiax
dicturus dubia pro libertate, bubulco
iudice. Rumpe miser tensum iecur, ut tibi lasso
figantur virides, scalarum gloria, palmae.
Quod vocis pretium ? siccus petasunculus et vas
pelamydum, aut veteres, Afrorum epimenia, bulbi,
aut vinum Tiberi devectum, quinque lagonae.

99 perit *P.* petit ω. 114 Lacernae *P.* lacertae ω.

Si quater egisti, si contigit aureus unus,
inde cadunt partes, ex foedere, pragmaticorum.

124-137.—*If you want to get on, you must make a display of wealth, as Aemilius does, or Tongilius, and then the chances are you will be ruined like Matho or Pedo.*

Aemilio dabitur, quantum licet, et melius nos
egimus: huius enim stat currus aeneus, alti
quadriiuges in vestibulis, atque ipse feroci
bellatore sedens curvatum hastile minatur
eminus, et statua meditatur proelia lusca.
Sic Pedo conturbat, Matho deficit: exitus hic est
Tongilii, magno cum rhinocerote lavari
qui solet et vexat lutulenta balnea turba,
perque forum iuvenes longo premit assere Maedos,
empturus pueros, argentum, murrhina, villas:
spondet enim Tyrio stlataria purpura filo.
Et tamen est illis hoc utile: purpura vendit
causidicum, vendunt amethystina: convenit illi
et strepitu et facie maioris vivere census.

138-149.—*Even a Cicero without a ring would hardly make* 200 *sesterces; no poor man is considered eloquent, and so you had best emigrate to Gaul or Africa.*

Sed finem impensae non servat prodiga Roma.
Fidimus eloquio? Ciceroni nemo ducentos
nunc dederit nummos, nisi fulserit anulus ingens.
Respicit haec primum, qui litigat, an tibi servi
octo, decem comites, an post te sella, togati
ante pedes. Ideo conducta Paulus agebat
sardonyche, atque ideo pluris, quam Cossus agebat,
quam Basilus. Rara in tenui facundia panno.

124 quantum petit ω. 136 illi *F. A.* illis *p.* ω.

Quando licet Basilo flentem producere matrem?
Quis bene dicentem Basilum ferat? Accipiat te
Gallia, vel potius nutricula causidicorum
Africa, si placuit mercedem ponere linguae.

150-157.—*Perhaps rhetoricians get on better. But they never get paid for the tortures they have to undergo. All want to learn, but none to pay.*

Declamare doces? O ferrea pectora Vetti,
cum perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos.
Nam quaecunque sedens modo legerat, haec eadem stans
perferet atque eadem cantabit versibus isdem.
Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.
Quis color et quod sit causae genus, atque ubi summa
quaestio, quae veniant diversae forte sagittae,
nosse volunt omnes, mercedem solvere nemo.

158-170.—*If your pupil is stupid, his father blames you. If he could only listen to his son's declamations himself!*

"Mercedem appellas? quid enim scio?" Culpa docentis
scilicet arguitur, quod laeva in parte mamillae
nil salit Arcadico iuveni, cuius mihi sexta
quaque die miserum dirus caput Hannibal implet;
quidquid id est, de quo deliberat, an petat urbem
a Cannis, an post nimbos et fulmina cautus
circumagat madidas a tempestate cohortes.
"Quantum vis stipulare, et protinus accipe; quid do,
ut totiens illum pater audiat?" Haec alii sex
vel plures uno conclamant ore sophistae,

149 imponere *ω*. ponere *P. A.* 151 cum *P. ω*. cui *Jahn*.
156 diversae forte *P. A.* diversa parte *ω*. 165 quid do *P.* quod do *p. ω*.
166 Ast alii sex *ω*. *Valla*.

et veras agitant lites, raptore relicto;
fusa venena silent, malus ingratusque maritus,
et quae iam veteres sanant mortaria caecos.

171-177.—*If he will take my advice, the rhetorician will choose another career, since he has to go to law for so much as the price of a corn ticket, while music-masters like Pollio make their fortunes.*

Ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem, si nostra movebunt
consilia, et vitae diversum iter ingredietur,
ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra,
summula ne pereat, qua vilis tessera venit
frumenti: quippe haec merces lautissima. Tempta,
Chrysogonus quanti doceat, vel Pollio quanti
lautorum pueros, artem scindes Theodori.

178-185.—*There are so many things the rich must have—porticos, dining-halls, carvers—*

Balnea sexcentis et pluris porticus, in qua
gestetur dominus, quotiens pluit. Anne serenum
exspectet spargatque luto iumenta recenti?
Hic potius: namque hic mundae nitet ungula mulae.
Parte alia longis Numidarum fulta columnis
surgat, et algentem rapiat cenatio solem.
Quanticunque domus, veniet qui fercula docte
componit; veniet qui pulmentaria condit.

186-202.—*that little can be spared for their sons' education; and though Quintilian may seem an exception, 'tis simply that he was born under a lucky star; and luck may make a man anything, as in the case of Ventidius Bassus and Servius Tullius.*

Hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano,

177 scindens *P. S.* ω. scindes *Jahn.*

ut multum, duo sufficient: res nulla minoris
constabit patri, quam filius. "Unde igitur tot
Quintilianus habet saltus?" Exempla novorum
fatorum transi. Felix et pulcher et acer;
felix et sapiens et nobilis et generosus,
adpositam nigrae lunam subtexit alutae;
felix, orator quoque maximus et iaculator:
et si perfrixit, cantat bene. Distat enim, quae
sidera te excipiant modo primos incipientem
edere vagitus et adhuc a matre rubentem.
Si Fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul:
si volet haec eadem, fiet de consule rhetor.
Ventidius quid enim? quid Tullius? anne aliud, quam
sidus et occulti miranda potentia fati?
Servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphum.
Felix ille tamen corvo quoque rarior albo.

203-214.—*Many have repented of choosing this career too late. The old days of reverence for teachers are gone.*

Paenituit multos vanae sterilisque cathedrae,
sicut Thrasymachi probat exitus atque Secundi
Carinatis: et hunc inopem vidistis, Athenae,
nil praeter gelidas ausae conferre cicutas.
Di, maiorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram
spirantesque crocos et in urna perpetuum ver,
qui praeceptorem sancti voluere parentis
esse loco. Metuens virgae iam grandis Achilles
cantabat patriis in montibus, et cuï non tunc
eliceret risum citharoedi cauda magistri.
Sed Rufum atque alios caedit sua quemque iuventus,
Rufum, quem totiens Ciceronem Allobroga dixit.

198 fiet *P.* fies *p.* ω. 201 triumphos *p.* ω.
214 quem *P. F.* qui ω.

215-241.—*Lastly, there is the schoolmaster's profession. This is still worse. You have to fee the slaves, to get up before light, to be smothered with your pupils' lamps, to know everything, to be the guide and father of your boys, and after all to get a victorious gladiator's fee at the end of the year.*

Quis gremio Enceladi doctique Palaemonis adfert
quantum grammaticus meruit labor? et tamen ex hoc
quodcunque est (minus est autem, quam rhetoris aera)
discipuli custos praemordet Acoenonoëtus
et, qui dispensat, frangit sibi. Cede, Palaemon,
et patere inde aliquid decrescere, non aliter, quam
institor hibernae tegetis niveique cadurci;
dummodo non pereat, mediae quod noctis ab hora
sedisti, qua nemo faber, qua nemo sederet,
qui docet obliquo lanam deducere ferro;
dummodo non pereat totidem olfecisse lucernas,
quot stabant pueri, cum totus decolor esset
Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.
Rara tamen merces, quae cognitione tribuni
non egeat. Sed vos saevas imponite leges,
ut praeceptori verborum regula constet,
ut legat historias, auctores noverit omnes,
tamquam ungues digitosque suos: ut forte rogatus,
dum petit aut thermas aut Phoebi balnea, dicat
nutricem Anchisae, nomen patriamque novercae
Anchemoli; dicat, quot Acestes vixerit annis,
quot Siculus Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas.
Exigite, ut mores teneros ceu pollice ducat,
ut si quis cera vultum facit; exigite, ut sit
et pater ipsius coetus, ne turpia ludant.
"Haec," inquit, "cura, sed cum se verterit annus,
accipe, victori populus quod postulat, aurum."

235 Archemori *P. S.* ω.

SATURA VIII

1-18.—*What is the use of a long and noble ancestry, Ponticus, if you disgrace them by your gambling, or sloth or avarice or effeminacy?*

STEMMATA quid faciunt? quid prodest, Pontice, longo
sanguine censeri, pictosque ostendere vultus
maiorum et stantes in curribus Aemilianos,
et Curios iam dimidios, umeroque minorem
Corvinum, et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem?
Quis fructus, generis tabula iactare capaci
[Corvinum, posthac multa contingere virga]
fumosos equitum cum dictatore magistros,
si coram Lepidis male vivitur? effigies quo
tot bellatorum, si luditur alea pernox
ante Numantinos; si dormire incipis ortu
Luciferi, quo signa duces et castra movebant?
Cur Allobrogicis et magna gaudeat ara
natus in Herculeo Fabius Lare, si cupidus, si
vanus et Euganea quantumvis mollior agna;
si tenerum attritus Catinensi pumice lumbum
squalentes traducit avos emptorque veneni
frangenda miseram funestat imagine gentem?

19-38.—*Virtue is the only nobility. Be virtuous, and we may say with the Egyptian populace εὑρήκαμεν; otherwise your titles will be a mockery only.*

Tota licet veteres exornent undique cerae
atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.
Paulus vel Cossus vel Drusus moribus esto;
hos ante effigies maiorum pone tuorum;
praecedant ipsas illi te consule virgas.

Prima mihi debes animi bona: sanctus haberi
iustitiaeque tenax factis dictisque mereris,
agnosco procerem. Salve, Gaetulice, seu tu
Silanus, quocunque alio de sanguine, rarus
civis et egregius patriae contingis ovanti.
Exclamare libet, populus quod clamat, Osiri
invento. Quis enim generosum dixerit hunc, qui
indignus genere et praeclaro nomine tantum
insignis? Nanum cuiusdam Atlanta vocamus,
Aethiopem cygnum, pravam extortamque puellam
Europen; canibus pigris scabieque vetusta
levibus et siccae lambentibus ora lucernae
nomen erit pardus, tigris, leo, si quid adhuc est,
quod fremat in terris violentius. Ergo cavebis
et metues, ne tu sic Creticus aut Camerinus.

39-55.—*Be warned by this, Rubellius Blandus, you who vaunt of imperial descent. It is the plebeian who makes the skilful pleader and the successful general: you are a mere marble head, fine but useless.*

His ego quem monui? tecum est mihi sermo, Rubelli
Blande. Tumes alto Drusorum stemmate, tamquam
feceris ipse aliquid, propter quod nobilis esses,
ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget Iuli,
non quae ventoso conducta sub aggere texit.
"Vos humiles," inquis, "vulgi pars ultima nostri,
quorum nemo queat patriam monstrare parentis:
ast ego Cecropides." Vivas et originis huius
gaudia longo feras: tamen ima plebe Quiritem
facundum invenies; solet hic defendere causas
nobilis indocti; veniet de plebe togata,
qui iuris nodos et legum aenigmata solvat.

33 pravam *P.* parvam ω. 38 sis ω.

Hic petit Euphraten iuvenis domitique Batavi
custodes aquilas, armis industrius: at tu
nil nisi Cecropides truncoque simillimus Hermae
nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine, quam quod
illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.

56-70.—*Who values a horse simply because of its ancestry, if it never wins a race or gains a prize? it is sold to turn a mill.*

Dic mihi, Teucrorum proles, animalia muta
quis generosa putet, nisi fortia? nempe volucrem
sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma
fervet et exsultat rauco victoria circo.
Nobilis hic, quocunque venit de gramine, cuius
clara fuga ante alios et primus in aequore pulvis:
sed venale pecus Coryphaei posteritas et
Hirpini, si rara iugo victoria sedit.
Nil ibi maiorum respectus, gratia nulla
umbrarum: dominos pretiis mutare iubentur
exiguis, trito ducunt epiredia collo
segnipedes, dignique molam versare nepotes.
Ergo ut miremur te, non tua, primum aliquid da,
quod possim titulis incidere praeter honores
quos illis damus et dedimus, quibus omnia debes.

71-86.—*Do you, Ponticus, choose a nobler lot; do your duty as soldier, judge, or witness: prefer death to dishonour.*

Haec satis ad iuvenem, quem nobis fama superbum
tradit et inflatum plenumque Nerone propinquo:
rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa
fortuna. Sed te censeri laude tuorum,
Pontice, noluerim sic, ut nihil ipse futurae

67 nepotes *P.* nepotis *p.* ω. 68 primum *P.* ω. privum *Salmasius.*

laudis agas. Miserum est aliorum incumbere famae
ne conlapsa ruant subductis tecta columnis.
Stratus humi palmes viduas desiderat ulmos.
Esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem
integer; ambiguae si quando citabere testis
incertaeque rei, Phalaris licet imperet, ut sis
falsus, et admoto dictet periuria tauro:
summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori
et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.
Dignus morte perit, cenet licet ostrea centum
Gaurana et Cosmi toto mergatur aeno.

87-93.—*And if you are made governor of a province, spare the provincials. Take warning from the condemnation of others.*

Exspectata diu tandem provincia cum te
rectorem accipiet, pone irae fraena modumque,
pone et avaritiae; miserere inopum sociorum,—
ossa vides rerum vacuis exsucta medullis.—
Respice, quid moneant leges, quid curia mandet,
praemia quanta bonos maneant, quam fulmine iusto
et Capito et Numitor ruerint, damnante Senatu,
piratae Cilicum.

94-97.—*And yet what good comes of those condemnations, when each successor does the same? The poor provincial had better suffer in silence.*

Sed quid damnatio confert,
cum Pansa eripiat, quidquid tibi Natta reliquit?
Praeconem, Chaerippe, tuis circumspice pannis,
iamque tace: furor est post omnia perdere naulum.

90 rerum *P.* regum ω.

98-112.—*In former days they were rich; they had their works of art, till Verres and Dolabella carried them off. Now they can hardly keep their little herds, or the paltry images of their household gods.*

Non idem gemitus olim, neque vulnus erat par
damnorum, sociis florentibus et modo victis.
Plena domus tunc omnis, et ingens stabat acervus
nummorum, Spartana chlamys, conchylia Coa,
et cum Parrhasii tabulis signisque Myronis
Pheidiacum vivebat ebur; nec non Polycliti
multus ubique labor; rarae sine Mentore mensae.
Inde Dolabellae atque istinc Antonius, inde
sacrilegus Verres referebant navibus altis
occulta spolia et plures de pace triumphos.
Nunc sociis iuga pauca boum, grex parvus equarum,
et pater armenti capto eripietur agello;
ipsi deinde Lares, si quod spectabile signum,
si quis in aedicula deus unicus. Haec etenim sunt
pro summis: nam sunt haec maxima.

112-124.—*The effeminate Greek perhaps you can treat thus with safety, but beware of the Spaniard or the African; you may take their property, but be sure they will keep their swords.*

Despicias tu
forsitan imbelles Rhodios unctamque Corinthum:
despicias merito. Quid resinata iuventus,
cruraque totius facient tibi levia gentis?
Horrida vitanda est Hispania, Gallicus axis
Illyricumque latus: parce et messoribus illis,
qui saturant urbem, circo scenaeque vacantem.

105 adque stinc cantonius *P.* atque hinc Antonius *ω*.

Quanta autem inde feres tam dirae praemia culpae,
cum tenues nuper Marius discinxerit Afros?
Curandum imprimis, ne magna iniuria fiat
fortibus et miseris: tollas licet omne, quod usquam est
auri atque argenti, scutum gladiumque relinques
et iaculum et galeam: spoliatis arma supersunt.

125-134.—*But if you check the rapacity of your retinue, the corruptions of your slaves, the avarice of your wife, you will not disgrace your ancestors, were they the Titans themselves.*

Quod modo proposui, non est sententia, verum est:
credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllae.
Si tibi sancta cohors comitum, si nemo tribunal
vendit Acersecomes, si nullum in coniuge crimen,
nec per conventus et cuncta per oppida curvis
unguibus ire parat nummos raptura Celaeno:
tunc licet a Pico numeres genus, altaque si te
nomina delectant, omnem Titanida pugnam
inter maiores ipsumque Promethea ponas:
de quocunque voles proavum tibi sumito libro.

135-145.—*Just as if you are cruel and dishonest, the very nobility of your father will rise up to accuse you.*

Quod si praecipitem rapit ambitio atque libido,
si frangis virgas sociorum in sanguine, si te
delectant hebetes lasso lictore secures:
incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
nobilitas, claramque facem praeferre pudendis.
Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.

123 relinquas *S.*

Quo mihi, te solitum falsas signare tabellas
in templis, quae fecit avus, statuamque parentis
ante triumphalem? quo, si nocturnus adulter
tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo?

146-162.—*Lateranus, consul as he is, drives his own chariot by night past the graves of his ancestors. Next year he will do it in open day. Meanwhile, though he sacrifices to Jove, he swears by Epona, and frequents the cook-shops.*

Praeter maiorum cineres atque ossa volucri
carpento rapitur pinguis Lateranus, et ipse,
ipse rotam adstringit sufflamine mulio consul;
nocte quidem: sed luna videt, sed sidera testes
intendunt oculos. Finitum tempus honoris
cum fuerit, clara Lateranus luce flagellum
sumet, et occursum numquam trepidabit amici
iam senis, ac virga prior adnuet, atque maniplos
solvet, et infundet iumentis hordea lassis.
Interea dum lanatas robumque iuvencum
more Numae caedit, Iovis ante altaria iurat
solam Eponam et facies olida ad praesepia pictas.
Sed cum pervigiles placet instaurare popinas:
obvius adsiduo Syrophoenix unctus amomo
currit, Idumaeae Syrophoenix incola portae,
hospitis adfectu dominum regemque salutat,
et cum venali Cyane succincta lagona.

148 sufflamine mulio *F. S.* multo sufflamine *P.* ω.
155 robum *F. S.* torvum *p.* ω. 159 unctus *P.* udus *p.* ω.

163-178.—*Well, some one may say, we all did the same when young. Yes, but Lateranus is of an age to serve his country and his emperor on the frontiers, and yet if Caesar wished to send him there, he must look for him in a cook-shop with the lowest of the low.*

Defensor culpae dicet mihi, "fecimus et nos
haec iuvenes." Esto; desisti nempe, nec ultra
fovisti errorem. Breve sit, quod turpiter audes;
quaedam cum prima resecentur crimina barba;
indulge veniam pueris: Lateranus ad illos
thermarum calices inscriptaque lintea vadit,
maturus bello, Armeniae Syriaeque tuendis
amnibus et Rheno atque Istro; praestare Neronem
securum valet haec aetas. Mitte Ostia, Caesar,
mitte: sed in magna legatum quaere popina;
invenies aliquo cum percussore iacentem,
permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitivis,
inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum
et resupinati cessantia tympana Galli.
Aequa ibi libertas, communia pocula, lectus
non alius cuiquam, nec mensa remotior ulli.

179-182.—*If one of your slaves behaved so, you would send him at once to the ergastula.*

Quid facias talem sortitus, Pontice, servum?
Nempe in Lucanos aut Tusca ergastula mittas.
At vos, Troiugenae, vobis ignoscitis, et quae
turpia Cerdoni, Volesos Brutumque decebunt.

183-197.—*Then again you, Damasippus, condescend to act "the Ghost" in the mime of Catullus; and the people, which should blush for you, applauds. Surely death were preferable to such disgrace!*

Quid, si numquam adeo foedis adeoque pudendis

utimur exemplis, ut non peiora supersint?
Consumptis opibus vocem, Damasippe, locasti
sipario, clamosum ageres ut Phasma Catulli.
Laureolum velox etiam bene Lentulus egit,
iudice me dignus vera cruce. Nec tamen ipsi
ignoscas populo: populi frons durior huius,
qui sedet et spectat triscurria patriciorum,
planipedes audit Fabios, ridere potest qui
mamercorum alapas. Quanti sua funera vendant,
quid refert? Vendunt nullo cogente Nerone,
nec dubitant celsi praetoris vendere ludis.
Finge tamen gladios inde, atque hinc pulpita poni:
quid satius? Mortem sic quisquam exhorruit, ut sit
zelotypus Thymeles, stupidi collega Corinthi?

198-210.—*Then worst of all, we have Gracchus appearing as a gladiator, nay more, as a retiarius, recognisable by every one.*

Res haud mira tamen, citharoedo principe, mimus
nobilis. Haec ultra quid erit, nisi ludus? Et illic
dedecus urbis habes: nec murmillonis in armis,
nec clipeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce supina.
Damnat enim tales habitus et damnat et odit
nec galea faciem abscondit; movet ecce tridentem,
postquam librata pendentia retia dextra
nequiquam effudit, nudum ad spectacula vultum
erigit et tota fugit agnoscendus arena.
Credamus, tunicae de faucibus aurea cum se
porrigat et longo iactetur spira galero.
Ergo ignominiam graviorem pertulit omni
vulnere cum Graccho iussus pugnare secutor.

205 effundit *P*.

211-230.—*If the people only dared, do you think they would hesitate to prefer Seneca to Nero, the matricide?—Nero who sang on the public stage, who wrote the Troica, who disgraced the busts of his family with his parsley crowns?*

Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
perditus, ut dubitet Senecam praeferre Neroni;
cuius supplicio non debuit una parari
simia, nec serpens unus, nec culleus unus?
Par Agamemnonidae crimen; sed causa facit rem
dissimilem. Quippe ille deis auctoribus ultor
patris erat caesi media inter pocula: sed nec
Electrae iugulo se polluit aut Spartani
sanguine coniugii; nullis aconita propinquis
miscuit, in scena nunquam cantavit Orestes,
Troica non scripsit. Quid enim Verginius armis
debuit ulcisci magis, aut cum Vindice Galba,
quod Nero tam saeva crudaque tyrannide fecit?
Haec opera atque hae sunt generosi principis artes,
gaudentis foedo peregrina ad pulpita cantu
prostitui, Graiaeque apium meruisse coronae.
Maiorum effigies habeant insignia vocis:
ante pedes Domiti longum tu pone Thyestae
syrma vel Antigonae, personam vel Menalippes,
et de marmoreo citharam suspende colosso.

231-236.—*Catiline was nobly born, so was Cethegus; and yet like barbarous Gauls they tried to fire the city.*

Quid, Catilina, tuis natalibus atque Cethegi
inveniet quisquam sublimius? Arma tamen vos
nocturna et flammas domibus templisque parastis,
ut Braccatorum pueri Senonumque minores,

223 quid *P. ω.*

ausi, quod liceat tunica punire molesta.
Sed vigilat consul vexillaque vestra coercet.

237-244.—*On the other hand, Cicero the "novus homo" gained a title from free Rome, which Augustus hardly won after the bloodshed of Actium.*

Hic novus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romae
municipalis eques, galeatum ponit ubique
praesidium attonitis, et in omni monte laborat.
Tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi
nominis et tituli, quantum non Leucade, quantum
Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo
caedibus adsiduis gladio. Sed Roma parentem,
Roma Patrem Patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.

245-253.—*Marius also rose from the ranks to be the saviour of his country.*

Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
poscere mercedes, alieno lassus aratro;
nodosam post haec frangebat vertice vitem,
si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra:
hic tamen et Cimbros et summa pericula rerum
excipit, et solus trepidantem protegit urbem;
atque ideo, postquam ad Cimbros stragemque volabant
qui nunquam attigerant maiora cadavera corvi,
nobilis ornatur lauro collega secunda.

254-260.—*And the plebeian Decii sacrificed their lives for their fellow-soldiers, while the last good king was born from a slave.*

Plebeiae Deciorum animae, plebeia fuerunt
nomina: pro totis legionibus hi tamen et pro

239 monte et ponte *S.* gente *p. ω. erasa P.*

omnibus auxiliis atque omni pube Latina
sufficiunt dis infernis Terraeque parenti:
pluris enim Decii, quam quae servantur ab illis.
Ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini
et fasces meruit, regum ultimus ille bonorum.

261-268.—*The sons of Brutus again tried to betray the state, while it was a slave who preserved it.*

Prodita laxabant portarum claustra tyrannis
exsulibus iuvenes ipsius consulis et quos
magnum aliquid dubia pro libertate deceret,
quod miraretur cum Coclite Mucius et quae
imperii fines, Tiberinum, virgo natavit.
Occulta ad Patres produxit crimina servus,
matronis lugendus: at illos verbera iustis
adficiunt poenis et legum prima securis.

269-275.—*Go back far enough, and you will find that we are all descended from shepherds or—worse.*

Malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
Aeacidae similis Vulcanique arma capessas
quam te Thersitae similem producat Achilles.
Et tamen, ut longe repetas longeque revolvas
nomen, ab infami gentem deducis asylo.
Maiorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum,
aut pastor fuit aut—illud, quod dicere nolo.

270 Vulcaniaque *p.* ω.

LIBER QUARTUS

SATURA X

1-22.—*How few throughout the world who know what is really for their good; to one eloquence is fatal, to another strength; to Seneca his wealth; to the Laterani their palace.*

Omnibus in terris, quae sunt a Gadibus usque
Auroram et Gangen, pauci dinoscere possunt
vera bona atque illis multum diversa, remota
erroris nebula. Quid enim ratione timemus
aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te
conatus non paeniteat votique peracti?
Evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
di faciles; nocitura toga, nocitura petuntur
militia; torrens dicendi copia multis
et sua mortifera est facundia; viribus ille
confisus periit admirandusque lacertis.
Sed plures nimia congesta pecunia cura
strangulat, et cuncta exsuperans patrimonia census,
quanto delphinis balaena Britannica maior.
Temporibus diris igitur iussuque Neronis
Longinum et magnos Senecae praedivitis hortos
clausit, et egregias Lateranorum obsidet aedes
tota cohors; rarus venit in cenacula miles.
Pauca licet portes argenti vascula puri,
nocte iter ingressus gladium contumque timebis,
et motae ad lunam trepidabis arundinis umbram:
cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.

23-35.—*What wonder when all pray for what proves their ruin, that Democritus should laugh, and Heraclitus weep at the sight of so much folly?*

Prima fere vota et cunctis notissima templis
divitiae, crescant ut opes, ut maxima toto
nostra sit arca foro. Sed nulla aconita bibuntur
fictilibus; tunc illa time, cum pocula sumes
gemmata et lato Setinum ardebit in auro.
Iamne igitur laudas, quod de sapientibus alter
ridebat, quotiens de limine moverat unum
protuleratque pedem; flebat contrarius auctor?
Sed facilis cuivis rigidi censura cachinni:
mirandum est, unde ille oculis suffecerit humor.
Perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat
Democritus, quamquam non essent urbibus illis
praetextae, trabeae, fasces, lectica, tribunal.

36-53.—*But how much more would Democritus have laughed, if he had seen the pomp and splendour of the praetor on his way to—the games!*

Quid, si vidisset praetorem curribus altis
exstantem et medio sublimem in pulvere circi
in tunica Iovis, et pictae Sarrana ferentem
ex humeris aulaea togae magnaeque coronae
tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit ulla?
Quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus, et, sibi consul
ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.
Da nunc et volucrem, sceptro quae surgit eburno,
illinc cornicines, hinc praecedentia longi
agminis officia et niveos ad frena Quirites,

30 alter *S*.
35 praetexta et rabeae *P*. praetexta trabeae *F*. praetexta et trabeae *p*.

defossa in loculos quos sportula fecit amicos.
Tum quoque materiam risus invenit ad omnes
occursus hominum, cuius prudentia monstrat
summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos
vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci.
Ridebat curas, nec non et gaudia vulgi,
interdum et lacrimas, cum Fortunae ipse minaci
mandaret laqueum, mediumque ostenderet unguem.

54-89. —*Some are ruined through envy of their power, like Sejanus, who, one moment the idol, the next becomes the victim of the people, which cares for nothing now but "bread and the Circus."*

Ergo supervacua aut si perniciosa petuntur,
propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum?
Quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae
invidiae; mergit longa atque insignis honorum
pagina; descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur.
Ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis
caedit, et immeritis franguntur crura caballis.
Iam strident ignes, iam follibus atque caminis
ardet adoratum populo caput, et crepat ingens
Seianus: deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, matellae.
Pone domi lauros, duc in Capitolia magnum
cretatumque bovem: Seianus ducitur unco
spectandus. Gaudent omnes. "Quae labra? quis illi
vultus erat? numquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi
hunc hominem." "Sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
delator? quibus indicibus, quo teste probavit?"

46 loculos *P.* loculis *ω.*
54 supervacua aut perniciosa *P. ω. Ellis coni.* si, *Bücheler* quae, *Munro* ut, etc.
64 patellae *ς.* 70 indiciis *ς.*

"Nil horum : verbosa et grandis epistula venit
a Capreis." "Bene habet ; nil plus interrogo. Sed quid
turba Remi ?" "Sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
damnatos. Idem populus, si Nurtia Tusco
favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora
Augustum. Iam pridem, ex quo suffragia nulli
vendimus, effudit curas. Nam qui dabat olim
imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se
continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
panem et Circenses." "Perituros audio multos."
"Nil dubium : magna est fornacula : pallidulus mi
Brutidius meus ad Martis fuit obvius aram.
Quam timeo, victus ne poenas exigat Aiax,
ut male defensus !" "Curramus praecipites et,
dum iacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem.
Sed videant servi, ne quis neget et pavidum in ius
cervice obstricta dominum trahat." Hi sermones
tunc de Seiano, secreta haec murmura vulgi.

90-107.—*Would you be a Sejanus ? would you choose his power and accept his fate ? or would you be a country magistrate, obscure but safe ?*

Visne salutari sicut Seianus ? habere
tantundem, atque illi summas donare curules,
illum exercitibus praeponere ? tutor haberi
principis augusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis
cum grege Chaldaeo ? Vis certe pila, cohortes,
egregios equites et castra domestica. Quidni
haec cupias ? et qui nolunt occidere quemquam,
posse volunt. Sed quae praeclara et prospera tanti
ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum ?

93 angusta ς.

Huius, qui trahitur, praetextam sumere mavis,
an Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas,
et de mensura ius dicere, vasa minora
frangere, pannosus vacuis Aedilis Ulubris?
Ergo quid optandum foret, ignorasse fateris
Seianum: nam qui nimios optabat honores
et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset
casus, et impulsae praeceps immane ruinae.

108-113.—*Remember Crassus and Pompeius: remember that few tyrants die a bloodless death.*

Quid Crassos, quid Pompeios evertit? et illum,
ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites?
Summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus,
magnaque numinibus vota exaudita malignis.
Ad generum Cereris sine caede et vulnere pauci
descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.

114-132.—*Boys at school long to be a Demosthenes or a Cicero: to both their eloquence was fatal. Safer to have written bad poetry than the Second Philippic; better to have remained at the forge than to have been the admiration of Athens.*

Eloquium aut famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
incipit optare et totis Quinquatribus optat,
quisquis adhuc uno parcam colit asse Minervam,
quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae:
Eloquio sed uterque perit orator; utrumque
largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.
Ingenio manus est et cervix caesa; nec umquam
sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli.
"O fortunatam natam me consule Romam!"

116 parcam *P.* partam *ω.*

Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
omnia dixisset. Ridenda poemata malo,
quam te conspicuae, divina Philippica, famae,
volveris a prima quae proxima. Saevus et illum
exitus eripuit, quem mirabantur Athenae
torrentem et pleni moderantem frena theatri.
Dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro,
quem pater, ardentis massae fuligine lippus,
a carbone et forcipibus gladiosque parante
incude et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misit.

133-146.—*All aim at success, few at virtue; many ruin their country in the pursuit.*

Bellorum exuviae, truncis adfixa tropaeis
lorica, et fracta de casside buccula pendens,
et curtum temone iugum, victaeque triremis
aplustre, et summo tristis captivus in arcu,
humanis maiora bonis creduntur: ad hoc se
Romanus Graiusque ac barbarus induperator
erexit: causas discriminis atque laboris
inde habuit. Tanto maior famae sitis est, quam
virtutis. Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
praemia si tollas? Patriam tamen obruit olim
gloria paucorum et laudis tituli que cupido
haesuri saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quae
discutienda valent sterilis mala robora fici:
quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris.

147-167.—*Weigh the ashes of Hannibal; how little is left of him who had such a career of glory, and so ignominious an end!*

Expende Hannibalem; quot libras in duce summo
invenies? hic est quem non capit Africa Mauro

percussa Oceano Niloque admota tepenti,
rursus ad Aethiopum populos altosque elephantos.
Additur imperiis Hispania: Pyrenaeum
transilit. Opposuit natura Alpemque nivemque:
diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto.
Iam tenet Italiam: tamen ultra pergere tendit:
"Actum," inquit, "nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas
frangimus et media vexillum pono Subura."
O qualis facies et quali digna tabella,
cum Gaetula ducem portaret bellua luscum!
Exitus ergo quis est? O gloria! vincitur idem
nempe et in exsilium praeceps fugit, atque ibi magnus
mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis,
donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.
Finem animae, quae res humanas miscuit olim,
non gladii, non saxa dabunt, nec tela; sed ille
Cannarum vindex et tanti sanguinis ultor,
anulus. I, demens, et saevas curre per Alpes,
ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias.

168-187.—*Alexander, too, for whom the world was too small, found a sarcophagus large enough; and Xerxes, starting with an innumerable host, returned with a single ship.*

Unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis:
aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
ut Gyari clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho:
cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,
sarcophago contentus erit. Mors sola fatetur,
quantula sint hominum corpuscula. Creditur olim
velificatus Athos, et quidquid Graecia mendax
audet in historia: constratum classibus îsdem

150 aliosque ω. altosque *P.*

suppositumque rotis solidum mare: credimus altos
defecisse amnes epotaque flumina, Medo
prandente, et madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis.
ille tamen qualis rediit Salamine relicta,
in Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis
barbarus, Aeolio nunquam hoc in carcere passos,
ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum?
Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum
credidit. Huic quisquam vellet servire Deorum?
Sed qualis rediit? nempe una nave, cruentis
fluctibus, ac tarda per densa cadavera prora.
Has totiens optata exegit gloria poenas.

188-245.—*Men pray to Jupiter for length of life, but what deformity and weakness comes with it! What pleasure in sight or sound remains? What a troop of infirmities it brings! what loss of sense and memory, what bereavements and solitude!*

"Da spatium vitae, multos da, Iupiter, annos!"
Hoc recto vultu, solum hoc et pallidus optas.
Sed quam continuis et quantis longa senectus
plena malis! Deformem et taetrum ante omnia vultum
dissimilemque sui, deformem pro cute pellem,
pendentesque genas et tales aspice rugas,
quales, umbriferos ubi pandit Tabraca saltus,
in vetula scalpit iam mater simia bucca.
Plurima sunt iuvenum discrimina: pulcrior ille
hoc, atque ille alio; multum hic robustior illo:
una senum facies, cum voce trementia membra,
et iam leve caput madidique infantia nasi.
Frangendus misero gingiva panis inermi:
usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique,

189 hoc alto recto *P.*

ut captatori moveat fastidia Cosso.
Non eadem vini atque cibi, torpente palato,
gaudia:
                                        Aspice partis
nunc damnum alterius: nam quae cantante voluptas,
sit licet eximius citharoedus sive Seleucus,
et quibus aurata mos est fulgere lacerna?
Quid refert, magni sedeat qua parte theatri,
qui vix cornicines exaudiet atque tubarum
concentus? clamore opus est, ut sentiat auris,
quem dicat venisse puer, quot nuntiet horas.
Praeterea minimus gelido iam in corpore sanguis
febre calet sola; circumsilit agmine facto
morborum omne genus: quorum si nomina quaeras,
promptius expediam, quot amaverit Hippia moechos
quot Themison aegros autumno occiderit uno,
quot Basilus socios, quot circumscripserit Hirrus.
Percurram citius, quot villas possideat nunc,
quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat.
Ille umero, hic lumbis, hic coxa debilis; ambos
perdidit ille oculos et luscis invidet; huius
pallida labra cibum accipiunt digitis alienis.
Ipse ad conspectum cenae diducere rictum
suetus, hiat tantum, ceu pullus hirundinis, ad quem
ore volat pleno mater ieiuna. Sed omni
membrorum damno maior dementia, quae nec
nomina servorum, nec vultum agnoscit amici,
cum quo praeterita cenavit nocte, nec illos,
quos genuit, quos eduxit. Nam codice saevo
heredes vetat esse suos; bona tota feruntur
ad Phialen:

211 sitve ω.

Ut vigeant sensus animi, ducenda tamen sunt
funera natorum, rogus aspiciendus amatae
coniugis et fratris plenaeque sororibus urnae.
Haec data poena diu viventibus, ut renovata
semper clade domus, multis in luctibus inque
perpetuo maerore et nigra veste senescant.

246-257.—*Nestor lived to mourn Antilochus, Peleus to lose Achilles.*

Rex Pylius, magno si quidquam credis Homero,
exemplum vitae fuit a cornice secundae.
Felix nimirum, qui tot per saecula mortem
distulit atque suos iam dextra computat annos,
quique novum totiens mustum bibit. Oro parumper
attendas, quantum de legibus ipse queratur
fatorum et nimio de stamine, cum videt acris
Antilochi barbam ardentem; cum quaerit ab omni,
quisquis adest socius, cur haec in tempora duret,
quod facinus dignum tam longo admiserit aevo?
Haec eadem Peleus, raptum cum luget Achillem,
atque alius, cui fas Ithacum lugere natantem.

258-272.—*Priam might have died honoured and happy, if he had not lived so long; Hecuba might have died a woman, not a dog.*

Incolumi Troia Priamus venisset ad umbras
Assaraci, magnis sollemnibus, Hectore funus
portante ac reliquis fratrum cervicibus inter
Iliadum lacrimas, ut primos edere planctus
Cassandra inciperet scissaque Polyxena palla,
si foret exstinctus diverso tempore, quo non
coeperat audaces Paris aedificare carinas.

Longa dies igitur quid contulit? omnia vidit
eversa et flammis Asiam ferroque cadentem.
Tunc miles tremulus posita tulit arma tiara
et ruit ante aram summi Iovis, ut vetulus bos,
qui domini cultris tenue et miserabile collum
praebet, ab ingrato iam fastiditus aratro.
Exitus ille utcumque hominis: sed torva canino
latravit rictu, quae post hunc vixerat, uxor.

273-288.—*Look at Mithridates and Croesus; look at Marius, who lived to beg his bread at Carthage; look at Pompeius and his fate.*

Festino ad nostros, et regem transeo Ponti,
et Croesum, quem vox iusti facunda Solonis
respicere ad longae iussit spatia ultima vitae.
Exilium et carcer, Minturnarumque paludes,
et mendicatus victa Carthagine panis
hinc causas habuere. Quid illo cive tulisset
natura in terris, quid Roma beatius umquam,
si, circumducto captivorum agmine et omni
bellorum pompa, animam exhalasset opimam,
cum de Teutonico vellet descendere curru?
provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
optandas: sed multae urbes et publica vota
vicerunt. Igitur Fortuna ipsius et urbis
servatum victo caput abstulit. Hoc cruciatu
Lentulus, hac poena caruit, ceciditque Cethegus
integer, et iacuit Catilina cadavere toto.

289-317.—*Mothers, again, pray for beauty for their children; was it a boon to Lucretia or Verginia? Beauty and modesty rarely go together: your handsome son has many dangers in his path.*

Formam optat modico pueris, maiore puellis

murmure, cum Veneris fanum videt anxia mater,
usque ad delicias votorum. "Cur tamen," inquit,
"corripias? Pulchra gaudet Latona Diana."
Sed vetat optari faciem Lucretia, qualem
ipsa habuit: cuperet Rutilae Verginia gibbum
accipere atque suum Rutilae dare. Filius autem
corporis egregii miseros trepidosque parentes
semper habet. Rara est adeo concordia formae
atque pudicitiae. Sanctos licet horrida mores
tradiderit domus, ac veteres imitata Sabinos,
praeterea castum ingenium vultumque modesto
sanguine ferventem tribuat natura benigna
larga manu: (quid enim puero conferre potest plus
custode et cura natura potentior omni?)
non licet esse viro: nam prodiga corruptoris
improbitas ipsos audet temptare parentes.
Tanta in muneribus fiducia. Nullus ephebum
deformem saeva castravit in arce tyrannus:
nec praetextatum rapuit Nero loripedem, nec
strumosum atque utero pariter gibboque tumentem.
I nunc et iuvenis specie laetare tui, quem
maiora exspectent discrimina; fiet adulter
publicus, et poenas metuet quascunque mariti
irati; debet, nec erit felicior astro
Martis, ut in laqueos numquam incidat. Exigit autem
interdum ille dolor plus, quam lex ulla dolori
concessit. Necat hic ferro, secat ille cruentis
verberibus, quosdam moechos et mugilis intrat.

295 suam ω.
304 viros *P.* viris ω. viro *Jahn.*
311 expectent *P.* expectant ω.
313 mariti irati debet *P.* mariti exigere irati debent ω. maritis iratis debet *Jahn.*

324-345.—*Even virtue did not save Bellerophon or Hippolytus; Silius was hurried by Messalina into a criminal marriage which caused his death.*

"Sed casto quid forma nocet?" Quid profuit immo
Hippolyto grave propositum? quid Bellerophonti?
Erubuit nempe hac ceu fastidita repulsa,
nec Stheneboea minus quam Cressa excanduit, et se
concussere ambae. Mulier saevissima tunc est,
cum stimulos odio pudor admovet. Elige, quidnam
suadendum esse putes, cui nubere Caesaris uxor
destinat. Optimus hic et formosissimus idem
gentis patriciae rapitur miser exstinguendus
Messalinae oculis: dudum sedet illa parato
flammeolo, Tyriusque palam genialis in hortis
sternitur, et ritu decies centena dabuntur
antiquo: veniet cum signatoribus auspex.
Haec tu secreta et paucis commissa putabas?
Non nisi legitime vult nubere. Dic, placeat quid,
ni parere velis, pereundum erit ante lucernas:
si scelus admittas, dabitur mora parvula, dum res
nota urbi et populo contingat principis aures.
Dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus: interea tu
obsequere imperio: sit tanti vita dierum
paucorum. Quidquid melius leviusque putaris,
praebenda est gladio pulchra haec et candida cervix.

346-366.—*Ask the gods to choose for you; pray for a sound mind in a sound body, pray for tranquillity of soul which only virtue can give.*

"Nil ergo optabunt homines?" Si consilium vis,
permittes ipsis expendere numinibus, quid

326 hoc . . . repulso *P*.
338 Dic, placeat quid *F*. Quid placeat, dic *ω*.

conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris.
Nam pro iucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt Di.
Carior est illis homo, quam sibi. Nos animorum
impulsu et caeca magnaque cupidine ducti
coniugium petimus partumque uxoris: at illis
notum, qui pueri qualisque futura sit uxor.
Ut tamen et poscas aliquid, voveasque sacellis
exta, et candiduli divina tomacula porci—
orandum est, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano;
fortem posce animum, mortis terrore carentem,
qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
naturae, qui ferre queat quoscunque labores,
nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil et potiores
Herculis aerumnas credat saevosque labores
et Venere et cenis et pluma Sardanapali.
Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare: semita certe
tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
Nullum numen habes, si sit Prudentia: nos te,
nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam caeloque locamus.

SATURA XI

1-8.—*What is fitting for the rich man is not fitting for the ruined spendthrift. Rutilus, who has just entered a gladiatorial school.*

Atticus eximie si cenat, lautus habetur:
si Rutilus, demens. Quid enim maiore cachinno
excipitur vulgi, quam pauper Apicius? Omnis
convictus, thermae, stationes, omne theatrum
de Rutilo. Nam dum valida ac iuvenalia membra
sufficiunt galeae, dumque ardet sanguine, fertur

365 habes *P.* abest *p.* 6 ardenti *P.* ardens *p.* ω.

non cogente quidem, sed nec prohibente tribuno,
scripturus leges et regia verba lanistae.

9-20.—*Other spendthrifts are waylaid by their creditors outside the market; others pawn their plate for a tasty dish, or the medallion of their mother.*

Multos porro vides, quos saepe elusus ad ipsum
creditor introitum solet exspectare macelli,
et quibus in solo vivendi causa palato est.
Egregius cenat meliusque miserrimus horum,
et cito casurus iam perlucente ruina.
Interea gustus elementa per omnia quaerunt,
numquam animo pretiis obstantibus: interius si
attendas, magis illa iuvant, quae pluris emuntur.
Ergo haud difficile est perituram arcessere summam,
lancibus oppositis vel matris imagine fracta,
et quadringentis nummis condire gulosum
fictile; sic veniunt ad miscellanea ludi.

21-34.—*For all such men γνῶθι σεαυτόν should be the motto.*

Refert ergo, quis haec eadem paret: in Rutilo nam
luxuria est, in Ventidio laudabile nomen
sumit et a censu famam trahit. Illum ego iure
despiciam, qui scit, quanto sublimior Atlas
omnibus in Libya sit montibus, hic tamen idem
ignoret, quantum ferrata distet ab arca
sacculus. E caelo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτόν,
figendum et memori tractandum pectore, sive
coniugium quaeras vel sacri in parte Senatus
esse velis—nec enim loricam poscit Achillis
Thersites, in qua se traducebat Ulixes—
ancipitem seu tu magno discrimine causam

protegere adfectas; te consule, dic tibi, qui sis,
orator vehemens, an Curtius et Matho buccae.

35-45.—*Even in the smallest matters do not go beyond your means, or it will end in ruin and beggary.*

Noscenda est mensura sui spectandaque rebus
in summis minimisque; etiam cum piscis emetur,
ne mullum cupias, cum sit tibi gobio tantum
in loculis. Quis enim te, deficiente crumina,
et crescente gula, manet exitus, aere paterno
ac rebus mersis in ventrem, fenoris atque
argenti gravis et pecorum agrorumque capacem?
Talibus a dominis post cuncta novissimus exit
anulus, et digito mendicat Pollio nudo.
Non praematuri cineres, nec funus acerbum
luxuriae, sed morte magis metuenda senectus.

46-55.—*Men borrow, and when they have spent the loan, they retire to Baiae with no shame for their bankruptcy, and only regret that they must lose the Circus Games.*

Hi plerumque gradus: conducta pecunia Romae
et coram dominis consumitur: inde ubi paulum
nescio quid superest et pallet fenoris auctor,
qui vertere solum, Baias et ad ostrea currunt.
Cedere namque foro iam non est deterius, quam
Esquilias a ferventi migrare Subura.
Ille dolor solus patriam fugientibus, illa
maestitia est caruisse anno Circensibus uno.
Sanguinis in facie non haeret gutta: morantur
pauci ridiculum fugientem ex urbe Pudorem.

38 c . . . ina *P.* crumena *p. ω.*

56-63.—*If you will dine with me to-day, Persicus, you shall see whether or not I practise what I preach.*

Experiere hodie, numquid pulcherrima dictu,
Persice, non praestem vita nec moribus et re;
si laudem siliquas occultus ganeo; pultes
coram aliis dictem puero, sed in aure placentas.
Nam cum sis conviva mihi promissus, habebis
Evandrum, venies Tirynthius aut minor illo
hospes et ipse tamen contingens sanguine caelum:
alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus.

64-81.—*Your bill of fare shall be a kid from Tibur, some asparagus, some fresh laid eggs and fruit; a dinner in former days good enough for a senator, though now a slave would despise it.*

Fercula nunc audi nullis ornata macellis.
De Tiburtino veniet pinguissimus agro
haedulus et toto grege mollior, inscius herbae,
necdum ausus virgas humilis mordere salicti,
qui plus lactis habet, quam sanguinis, et montani
asparagi, posito quos legit vilica fuso.
Grandia praeterea tortoque calentia faeno
ova adsunt ipsis cum matribus, et servatae
parte anni, quales fuerant in vitibus, uvae:
Signinum Syriumque pirum, de corbibus isdem
aemula Picenis et odoris mala recentis,
nec metuenda tibi, siccatum frigore postquam
autumnum et crudi posuere pericula succi.
Haec olim nostri iam luxuriosa senatus
cena fuit. Curius, parvo quae legerat horto,
ipse focis brevibus ponebat oluscula, quae nunc

57 vel *p.* ω. 58 si *P.* sed *p.* ω.

squalidus in magna fastidit compede fossor,
qui meminit, calidae sapiat quid vulva popinae.

82-89.—*Once dictators and consuls were glad to come to a simpler meal.*

Sicci terga suis, rara pendentia crate,
moris erat quondam festis servare diebus
et natalicium cognatis ponere lardum,
accedente nova, si quam dabat hostia, carne.
Cognatorum aliquis titulo ter consulis atque
castrorum imperiis et dictatoris honore
functus, ad has epulas solito maturius ibat,
erectum domito referens a monte ligonem.

90-110.—*In the days of the Fabii and Cato, no one troubled his head about couches of tortoise-shell, nor did the soldiers ransack the enemy's booty for treasures of art. What silver they had, adorned their arms; earthenware was good enough to eat from.*

Cum tremerent autem Fabios durumque Catonem
et Scauros et Fabricium, postremo severos
censoris mores etiam collega timeret:
nemo inter curas et seria duxit habendam,
qualis in Oceano fluctu testudo nataret,
clarum Troiugenis factura ac nobile fulcrum:
sed nudo latere et parvis frons aerea lectis
vile coronati caput ostendebat aselli,
ad quod lascivi ludebant ruris alumni.
Tales ergo cibi, qualis domus atque supellex.
Tunc rudis et Graias mirari nescius artes,
urbibus eversis, praedarum in parte reperta
magnorum artificum frangebat pocula miles,

93 habendam *P.* habendum *p. ω.* 94 Oceano *ς.* Oceana *P.* Oceani *p. ω.*

ut phaleris gauderet equus, caelataque cassis
Romuleae simulacra ferae mansuescere iussae
imperii fato, geminos sub rupe Quirinos,
ac nudam effigiem clipeo venientis et hasta
pendentisque Dei, perituro ostenderet hosti.
Argenti quod erat, solis fulgebat in armis.
Ponebant igitur Tusco farrata catino;
omnia tunc, quibus invideas, si lividulus sis.

111-116.—*Then the gods were nearer to men, though Jupiter's statue was of earthenware.*

Templorum quoque maiestas praesentior, et vox
nocte fere media, mediamque audita per urbem,
litore ab Oceani Gallis venientibus et dis
officium vatis peragentibus. His monuit nos,
hanc rebus Latiis curam praestare solebat
fictilis et nullo violatus Iupiter auro.

117-129.—*Now nothing is worth eating unless it is served on a citrus table with ivory feet.*

Illa domi natas nostraque ex arbore mensas
tempora viderunt: hos lignum stabat in usus,
annosam si forte nucem deiecerat Eurus.
At nunc divitibus cenandi nulla voluptas,
nil rhombus, nil dama sapit, putere videntur
unguenta atque rosae, latos nisi sustinet orbes
grande ebur, et magno sublimis pardus hiatu,
dentibus ex illis, quos mittit porta Syenes
et Mauri celeres et Mauro obscurior Indus,
et quos deposuit Nabathaeo bellua saltu,

118 hos *ω*. hoc *P*.

iam nimios capitique graves. Hinc surgit orexis,
hinc stomacho vires: nam pes argenteus illis,
anulus in digito quod ferreus.

129-161.—*With me you will find no ivory; my knives are of bone; I have no trained carver; my servants are simple country lads, fresh from their country homes in the mountains.*

Ergo superbum
convivam caveo, qui me sibi comparet, et res
despicit exiguas. Adeo nulla uncia nobis
est eboris, nec tessellae, nec calculus ex hac
materia: quin ipsa manubria cultellorum
ossea: non tamen his ulla umquam opsonia fiunt
rancidula, aut ideo peior gallina secatur.
Sed nec structor erit, cui cedere debeat omnis
pergula, discipulus Trypheri doctoris, apud quem
sumine cum magno lepus, atque aper, et pygargus,
et Scythicae volucres, et phoenicopterus ingens,
et Gaetulus oryx, hebeti lautissima ferro
caeditur, et tota sonat ulmea cena Subura.
Nec frustum capreae subducere, nec latus Afrae
novit avis noster, tirunculus ac rudis omni
tempore, et exiguae furtis imbutus ofellae.
Plebeios calices et paucis assibus emptos
porriget incultus puer atque a frigore tutus;
non Phryx aut Lycius, non a mangone petitus
quisquam erit; in magno cum posces, posce Latine.
Idem habitus cunctis, tonsi rectique capilli,
atque hodie tantum propter convivia pexi.
Pastoris duri est hic filius, ille bubulci:
suspirat longo non visam tempore matrem

130 comparat ω. 148 in magno *P.* et magno ω.

et casulam, et notos tristis desiderat haedos,
ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris,
quales esse decet, quos ardens purpura vestit.
Hic tibi vina dabit, diffusa in montibus illis,
a quibus ipse venit, quorum sub vertice lusit:
namque una atque eadem est vini patria atque ministri.

162-182.—*There will be no lascivious dances; such things are for the rich: but you shall hear some recitations from Homer or Vergil.*

Forsitan exspectes, ut Gaditana canoro
incipiant prurire choro, plausuque probatae
ad terram tremulo descendant clune puellae:
spectant hoc nuptae iuxta recubante marito,
quod pudeat narrasse aliquem praesentibus ipsis:
non capit has nugas humilis domus: audiat ille
testarum crepitus cum verbis, nudum olido stans
fornice mancipium quibus abstinet; ille fruatur
vocibus obscenis omnique libidinis arte,
qui Lacedaemonium pytismate lubricat orbem.
Namque ibi fortunae veniam damus: alea turpis,
turpe et adulterium mediocribus. Haec eadem illi
omnia cum faciant, hilares nitidique vocantur.
Nostra dabunt alios hodie convivia ludos:
conditor Iliados cantabitur, atque Maronis
altisoni dubiam facientia carmina palmam.
Quid refert, tales versus qua voce legantur?

183-192.—*Therefore lay aside business cares and painful thoughts.*

Sed nunc dilatis averte negotia curis
et gratam requiem dona tibi, quando licebat

163 incipia . . *P.* incipiat *ω.*
178 faciunt *ς.* 184 licebit *p. ω.*

per totum cessare diem? non fenoris ulla
mentio, nec, prima si luce egressa reverti
nocte solet, tacito bilem tibi contrahat uxor.
Protinus ante meum, quidquid dolet, exue limen:
pone domum et servos et quidquid frangitur illis
aut perit: ingratos ante omnia pone sodales.

193-208.—*The whole city is at the Megalesian games; by their shouts I know the green have won; but such excitement is for the young. Let us bask in the sun, and go early to the baths.*

Interea Megalesiacae spectacula mappae,
Idaeum sollemne, colunt, similisque triumpho
praeda caballorum praetor sedet ac, mihi pace
immensae nimiaeque licet si dicere plebis,
totam hodie Romam circus capit et fragor aurem
percutit, eventum viridis quo colligo panni.
Nam si deficeret, maestam attonitamque videres
hanc urbem, veluti Cannarum in pulvere victis
consulibus. Spectent iuvenes, quos clamor et audax
sponsio, quos cultae decet adsedisse puellae:
nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem
effugiatque togam. Iam nunc in balnea, salva
fronte, licet vadas, quamquam solida hora supersit
ad sextam. Facere hoc non possis quinque diebus
continuis, quia sunt talis quoque taedia vitae
magna; voluptates commendat rarior usus.

SATURA XII

1-16.—*A sacrifice is ready, Corvinus, to celebrate the safe return of Catullus; I would it were a costlier one.*

Natali, Corvine, die mihi dulcior haec lux,
qua festus promissa deis animalia caespes

exspectat. Niveam Reginae ducimus agnam,
par vellus dabitur pugnanti Gorgone Maura.
Sed procul extensum petulans quatit hostia funem,
Tarpeio servata Iovi, frontemque coruscat:
quippe ferox vitulus, templis maturus et arae
spargendusque mero, quem iam pudet ubera matris
ducere, qui vexat nascenti robora cornu.
Si res ampla domi similisque adfectibus esset,
pinguior Hispulla traheretur taurus, et ipsa
mole piger, nec finitima nutritus in herba,
laeta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua sanguis
iret, et a grandi cervix ferienda ministro,
ob reditum trepidantis adhuc horrendaque passi
nuper et incolumem sese mirantis amici.

17-51.—*He has escaped both shipwreck and lightning; but he escaped with the loss of his valuable cargo, which he threw overboard to lighten the ship.*

Nam praeter pelagi casus et fulguris ictus
evasit. Densae caelum abscondere tenebrae
nube una, subitusque antennas impulit ignis,
cum se quisque illo percussum crederet, et mox
attonitus nullum conferri posse putaret
naufragium velis ardentibus. Omnia fiunt
talia, tam graviter, si quando poetica surgit
tempestas. Genus ecce aliud discriminis audi
et miserere iterum: quamquam sint cetera sortis
eiusdem pars dira quidem, sed cognita multis,
et quam votiva testantur fana tabella
plurima. Pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?
Accidit et nostro similis fortuna Catullo.
Cum plenus fluctu medius foret alveus, et iam,

alternum puppis latus evertentibus undis
arboris incertae, nullam prudentia cani
rectoris conferret opem, decidere iactu
coepit cum ventis, cupiens evadere damno.
"Fundite, quae mea sunt," dicebat, "cuncta," Catullus,
praecipitare volens etiam pulcherrima, vestem
purpuream, teneris quoque Maecenatibus aptam,
atque alias, quarum generosi graminis ipsum
infecit natura pecus, sed et egregius fons
viribus occultis et Baeticus adiuvat aer.
Ille nec argentum dubitabat mittere, lances
Parthenio factas, urnae cratera capacem,
et dignum sitiente Pholo vel coniuge Fusci;
adde et bascaudas et mille escalia, multum
caelati, biberat quo callidus emptor Olynthi.
Sed quis nunc alius, qua mundi parte, quis audet
argento praeferre caput rebusque salutem?
Non propter vitam faciunt patrimonia quidam,
sed vitio caeci propter patrimonia vivunt.

52-61.—*When that was not enough, the mast had to follow. What rashness to incur such perils!*

Iactatur rerum utilium pars maxima: sed nec
damna levant. Tunc, adversis urgentibus, illuc
reccidit, ut malum ferro submitteret; ac se
explicat angustum; discriminis ultima, quando
praesidia adferimus navem factura minorem.
I nunc et ventis animam committe, dolato
confisus ligno, digitis a morte remotus
quattuor aut septem, si sit latissima taeda.

32 arbori incertae *Lachmann*.
33 cum ferret *ω*. 54 decidit *ς*.

Mox cum reticulis et pane et ventre lagonae
aspice sumendas in tempestate secures.

62-82.—*At last when the wind fell, the ship, with a few outspread garments for a sail, managed to pass the heights of Alba Longa and to get into Ostia.*

Sed postquam iacuit planum mare, tempora postquam
prospera vectoris fatumque valentius Euro
et pelago; postquam Parcae meliora benigna
pensa manu ducunt hilares, et staminis albi
lanificae, modica nec multum fortior aura
ventus adest: inopi miserabilis arte cucurrit
vestibus extentis et, quod superaverat unum,
velo prora suo. Iam deficientibus Austris,
spes vitae cum sole redit: tum gratus Iulo,
atque novercali sedes praelata Lavinio,
conspicitur sublimis apex, cui candida nomen
scrofa dedit, laetis Phrygibus miserabile sumen,
et numquam visis triginta clara mamillis.
Tandem intrat positas inclusa per aequora moles
Tyrrhenamque Pharon porrectaque brachia rursum,
quae pelago occurrunt medio longeque relinquunt
Italiam.—Non sic igitur mirabere portus,
quos natura dedit.—Sed trunca puppe magister
interiora petit, Baianae pervia cymbae,
tuti stagna sinus; gaudent ibi vertice raso
garrula securi narrare pericula nautae.

83-92.—*Get ready the garlands then, ye boys; I will follow to the temple, and there will offer incense to the household Jove, and the Lares.*

Ite igitur, pueri, linguis animisque faventes,

73 miserabile *P. S.* mirabile *ω.* 81 ubi *ω.*

sertaque delubris et farra imponite cultris,
ac molles ornate focos glebamque virentem.
Iam sequar et, sacro quod praestat rite peracto,
inde domum repetam, graciles ubi parva coronas
accipiunt fragili simulacra nitentia cera.
Hic nostrum placabo Iovem, Laribusque paternis
thura dabo, atque omnes violae iactabo colores.
Cuncta nitent; longos erexit ianua ramos,
et matutinis operatur festa lucernis.

93-114.—*Don't suspect my motives. Catullus has three young heirs, and is therefore not worth flattering. If it had been Gallitta or Paccius who were in danger, not even an elephant would have been too costly for the legacy-hunters if only they could have got one.*

Nec suspecta tibi sint haec, Corvine: Catullus,
pro cuius reditu tot pono altaria, parvos
tres habet heredes. Libet exspectare, quis aegram
et claudentem oculos gallinam impendat amico
tam sterili. Verum haec nimia est impensa: coturnix
nulla umquam pro patre cadet. Sentire calorem
si coepit locuples Gallitta et Paccius orbi,
legitime fixis vestitur tota tabellis
porticus; exsistunt qui promittant hecatomben,
quatenus hic non sunt nec venales elephanti,
nec Latio, aut usquam sub nostro sidere talis
bellua concipitur: sed fulva gente petita
arboribus Rutulis et Turni pascitur agro,
Caesaris armentum, nulli servire paratum
privato: siquidem Tyrio parere solebant
Hannibali, et nostris ducibus, regique Molosso,
horum maiores, ac dorso ferre cohortes,

partem aliquam belli, et euntem in proelia turrim.
Nulla igitur mora per Novium, mora nulla per Histrum
Pacuvium, quin illud ebur ducatur ad aras,
et cadat ante Lares Gallittae victima, sola
tantis digna deis et captatoribus horum.

115-130.—*Or another would even offer a slave or a child. Well, long may he enjoy his reward, and his loveless life.*

Alter enim, si concedas mactare, vovebit
de grege servorum magna et pulcherrima quaeque
corpora ; vel pueris et frontibus ancillarum
imponet vittas, et, si qua est nubilis illi
Iphigenia domi, dabit hanc altaribus, etsi
non sperat tragicae furtiva piacula cervae.
Laudo meum civem, nec comparo testamento
mille rates : nam si Libitinam evaserit aeger,
delebit tabulas, inclusus carcere nassae,
post meritum sane mirandum, atque omnia soli
forsan Pacuvio breviter dabit. Ille superbus
incedet victis rivalibus. Ergo vides, quam
grande operae pretium faciat iugulata Mycenis.
  Vivat Pacuvius, quaeso, vel Nestora totum ;
possideat, quantum rapuit Nero ; montibus aurum
exaequet ; nec amet quemquam, nec ametur ab ullo.

128 totum *P.* *ω.* tantum *F.*

LIBER QUINTUS

SATURA XIII

1-22.—*Evil deeds are their own punishment, Calvinus; though an unjust judge may pass them by. Besides, you can afford this trifling loss; others have endured the same. Ordinary experience should teach you not to get into a rage because a friend has defrauded you of a deposit.*

EXEMPLO quodcunque malo committitur, ipsi
displicet auctori. Prima est haec ultio, quod se
iudice nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis
gratia fallaci praetoris vicerit urna.
Quid sentire putas omnes, Calvine, recenti
de scelere et fidei violatae crimine? Sed nec
tam tenuis census tibi contigit, ut mediocris
iacturae te mergat onus; nec rara videmus,
quae pateris. Casus multis hic cognitus, ac iam
tritus, et e medio fortunae ductus acervo.
Ponamus nimios gemitus: flagrantior aequo
non debet dolor esse viri, nec vulnere maior.
Tu quamvis levium minimam exiguamque malorum
particulam vix ferre potes, spumantibus ardens
visceribus, sacrum tibi quod non reddat amicus
depositum? Stupet haec, qui iam post terga reliquit
sexaginta annos, Fonteio Consule natus?
An nihil in melius tot rerum proficit usu?
Magna quidem, sacris quae dat praecepta libellis,
victrix fortunae sapientia: ducimus autem
hos quoque felices, qui ferre incommoda vitae,
nec iactare iugum, vita didicere magistra.

18 proficis p. ω.

23-37.—*Good men are few; we live in a corrupt age, when stolen money has a special charm, when perjury is universal.*

Quae tam festa dies, ut cesset prodere furem,
perfidiam, fraudes, atque omni ex crimine lucrum
quaesitum, et partos gladio vel pyxide nummos?
Rari quippe boni: numerus vix est totidem, quot
Thebarum portae vel divitis ostia Nili.
Nona aetas agitur peioraque saecula ferri
temporibus, quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa
nomen, et a nullo posuit natura metallo.
Nos hominum divumque fidem clamore ciemus,
quanto Faesidium laudat vocalis agentem
sportula. Dic, senior bulla dignissime, nescis,
quas habeat Veneres aliena pecunia? nescis,
quem tua simplicitas risum vulgo moveat, cum
exigis a quoquam, ne peieret et putet ullis
esse aliquod numen templis araeque rubenti?

38-59.—*In the golden age perhaps it was different, when the gods and the world were young, when reverence was paid to age.*

Quondam hoc indigenae vivebant more, priusquam
sumeret agrestem posito diademate falcem
Saturnus fugiens, tunc, cum virguncula Iuno
et privatus adhuc Idaeis Iupiter antris,
nulla super nubes convivia caelicolarum,
nec puer Iliacus, formosa nec Herculis uxor
ad cyathos, et iam siccato nectare tergens
brachia Vulcanus Liparaea nigra taberna;
prandebat sibi quisque deus, nec turba deorum
talis, ut est hodie, contentaque sidera paucis
numinibus miserum urgebant Atlanta minori

28 nunc aetas *P.* nona aetas *p.* *ω.*

pondere. Nondum aliquis sortitus triste profundi
imperium, aut Sicula torvus cum coniuge Pluton;
nec rota, nec Furiae, nec saxum aut vulturis atri
poena; sed infernis hilares sine regibus umbrae.
Improbitas illo fuit admirabilis aevo,
credebant quo grande nefas et morte piandum,
si iuvenis vetulo non adsurrexerat et si
barbato cuicumque puer, licet ipse videret
plura domi fraga et maiores glandis acervos.
Tam venerabile erat praecedere quatuor annis,
primaque par adeo sacrae lanugo senectae.

60-70.—*Now an honest man is a portent worthy of the Tuscan books.*

Nunc, si depositum non infitietur amicus,
si reddat veterem cum tota aerugine follem,
prodigiosa fides et Tuscis digna libellis,
quaeque coronata lustrari debeat agna.
Egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
hoc monstrum puero et mirandis sub aratro
piscibus inventis et fetae comparo mulae,
sollicitus, tamquam lapides effuderit imber,
examenque apium longa consederit uva
culmine delubri, tamquam in mare fluxerit amnis
gurgitibus miris et lactis vortice torrens.

71-85.—*What if others have lost twenty times as much as you? Why not? There is no oath men will not take, falsely but without a blush.*

Intercepta decem quereris sestertia fraude
sacrilega? Quid si bis centum perdidit alter

65 et *P.* aut ς. mirandis *P.* miranti *p.* ς.

hoc arcana modo? maiorem tertius illa
summam, quam patulae vix ceperat angulus arcae?
Tam facile et pronum est superos contemnere testes,
si mortalis idem nemo sciat. Aspice, quanta
voce neget; quae sit ficti constantia vultus.
Per Solis radios Tarpeiaque fulmina iurat,
et Martis frameam et Cirrhaei spicula vatis,
per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellae
perque tuum, pater Aegaei Neptune, tridentem:
addit et Herculeos arcus hastamque Minervae,
quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli.
Si vero et pater est, "Comedam," inquit, "flebile nati
sinciput elixi Pharioque madentis aceto."

86-89.—*Some do it because they believe in no gods at all.*

Sunt in Fortunae qui casibus omnia ponant,
et nullo credunt mundum rectore moveri,
natura volvente vices et lucis et anni,
atque ideo intrepidi quaecunque altaria tangunt.

90-99.—*Others will bear any punishments the gods like to inflict, so they may keep their ill-gotten gain.*

Est alius metuens, ne crimen poena sequatur:
hic putat esse deos et peierat, atque ita secum:
"Decernat, quodcumque volet, de corpore nostro
Isis, et irato feriat mea lumina sistro,
dummodo vel caecus teneam, quos abnego, nummos.
Et phthisis et vomicae putres et dimidium crus
sunt tanti. Pauper locupletem optare podagram
nec dubitet Ladas, si non eget Anticyra nec
Archigene. Quid enim velocis gloria plantae
praestat, et esuriens Pisaeae ramus olivae?

100-108.—*Besides, divine vengeance is slow: sometimes it never comes at all.*

Ut sit magna, tamen certe lenta ira deorum est.
Si curant igitur cunctos punire nocentes,
quando ad me venient? sed et exorabile numen
fortasse experiar: solet his ignoscere. Multi
committunt eadem diverso crimina fato:
ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema."
Sic animum dirae trepidum formidine culpae
confirmat; tunc te sacra ad delubra vocantem
praecedit, trahere immo ultro ac vexare paratus.

109-119.—*And so their boldness is taken for confidence, and your appeals to Jove to punish such barefaced perjury produce no response.*

Nam cum magna malae superest audacia causae,
creditur a multis fiducia. Mimum agit ille,
urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli:
tu miser exclamas, ut Stentora vincere possis,
vel potius, quantum Gradivus Homericus: "Audis,
Iupiter, haec, nec labra moves, cum mittere vocem
debueris vel marmoreus vel aeneus? aut cur
in carbone tuo charta pia thura soluta
ponimus, et sectum vituli iecur albaque porci
omenta? Ut video, nullum discrimen habendum est
effigies inter vestras statuamque Vagelli."

120-142.—*Just listen to common-sense; for your trouble is too small for the consolation of philosophy; look around, and see the numberless cases worse than your own. Must others suffer and you be exempt?*

Accipe quae contra valeat solatia ferre,

107 confirmat *S.* confirmant *P.* ω.

et qui nec Cynicos, nec Stoica dogmata legit
a Cynicis tunica distantia, non Epicurum
suspicit exigui laetum plantaribus horti.
Curentur dubii medicis maioribus aegri:
tu venam vel discipulo committe Philippi.
Si nullum in terris tam detestabile factum
ostendis, taceo; nec pugnis caedere pectus
te veto, nec plana faciem contundere palma
quandoquidem accepto claudenda est ianua damno,
et maiore domus gemitu, maiore tumultu
planguntur nummi, quam funera. Nemo dolorem
fingit in hoc casu, vestem diducere summam
contentus, vexare oculos humore coacto;
ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris.
Sed si cuncta vides simili fora plena querela,
si, deciens lectis diversa parte tabellis,
vana supervacui dicunt chirographa ligni,
arguit ipsorum quos littera gemmaque princeps
sardonychum, loculis quae custoditur eburnis:
ten', o delicias, extra communia censes
ponendum, quia tu gallinae filius albae,
nos viles pulli nati infelicibus ovis?

143-161.—*Look at the robberies, the incendiarism, the sacrilege, the poisonings, the parricides; spend a few days at the court of the Praefectus Urbi, and then lament your own case, if you dare.*

Rem pateris modicam et mediocri bile ferendam,
si flectas oculos maiora ad crimina. Confer
conductum latronem, incendia sulfure coepta
atque dolo, primos cum ianua colligit ignes:
confer et hos, veteris qui tollunt grandia templi

pocula adorandae robiginis et populorum
dona vel antiquo positas a rege coronas.
Haec ibi si non sunt, minor exstat sacrilegus, qui
radat inaurati femur Herculis et faciem ipsam
Neptuni, qui bratteolam de Castore ducat;—
an dubitet, solitus totum conflare Tonantem?—
Confer et artifices mercatoremque veneni
et deducendum corio bovis in mare, cum quo
clauditur adversis innoxia simia fatis.
Haec quota pars scelerum, quae custos Gallicus urbis
usque a lucifero, donec lux occidat, audit?
Humani generis mores tibi nosse volenti
sufficit una domus; paucos consume dies, et
dicere te miserum, postquam illinc veneris, aude.

162-173.—*No one wonders at the goître among the Alps; no one laughs at the pigmies in Thrace; nor should any one complain of dishonesty at Rome.*

Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus? aut quis
in Meroe crasso maiorem infante mamillam?
Caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam
caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro?
Nempe quod haec illis natura est omnibus una.
Ad subitas Thracum volucres nubemque sonoram
Pygmaeus parvis currit bellator in armis:
mox impar hosti raptusque per aera curvis
unguibus a saeva fertur grue. Si videas hoc
gentibus in nostris, risu quatiare: sed illic,
quamquam eadem assidue spectentur proelia, ridet
nemo, ubi tota cohors pede non est altior uno.

174-198.—"*Shall perjury, then, go unpunished? Revenge is sweet." Ah! but Chrysippus would not say that, nor Socrates: revenge marks the petty spirit. Besides, there is the punishment of conscience which never fails.*

"Nullane periuri capitis fraudisque nefandae
poena erit?" Abreptum crede hunc graviore catena
protinus, et nostro—quid plus velit ira?—necari
arbitrio: manet illa tamen iactura, nec umquam
depositum tibi sospes erit: sed corpore trunco
invidiosa dabit minimus solatia sanguis:
"At vindicta bonum vita iucundius ipsa."
Nempe hoc indocti, quorum praecordia nullis
interdum aut levibus videas flagrantia causis.
Quantulacunque adeo est occasio, sufficit irae:
Chrysippus non dicet idem nec mite Thaletis
ingenium dulcique senex vicinus Hymetto,
qui partem acceptae saeva inter vincla cicutae
accusatori nollet dare. Plurima felix
paulatim vitia atque errores exuit; omnes
prima docet rectum Sapientia: quippe minuti
semper et infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas
ultio. Continuo sic collige, quod vindicta
nemo magis gaudet, quam femina. Cur tamen hos tu
evasisse putes, quos diri conscia facti
mens habet attonitos et surdo verbere caedit
occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum?
Poena autem vehemens ac multo saevior illis,
quas et Caedicius gravis invenit et Rhadamanthus,
nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.

199-208.—*Remember the Spartan who was punished because he merely meditated a dishonest act.*

Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates:—

haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret
depositum retinere et fraudem iure tueri
iurando: quaerebat enim, quae numinis esset
mens et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo?
Reddidit ergo, metu, non moribus; et tamen omnem
vocem adyti dignam templo veramque probavit
exstinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque
et, quamvis longa deductis gente, propinquis.
Has patitur poenas peccandi sola voluntas.

209-235.—*A bad conscience gives a man no peace, no enjoyment of food or drink, no rest in sleep; he trembles at every clap of thunder, believes every sickness is sent to punish him, and yet he dares not offer a sacrifice to the offended gods.*

Nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum,
facti crimen habet. Cedo, si conata peregit.
Perpetua anxietas nec mensae tempore cessat,
faucibus, ut morbo, siccis interque molares
difficili crescente cibo: sed vina misellus
exspuit; Albani veteris pretiosa senectus
displicet; ostendas melius, densissima ruga
cogitur in frontem, velut acri ducta Falerno.
Nocte brevem si forte indulsit cura soporem,
et toto versata toro iam membra quiescunt:
continuo templum et violati numinis aras
et, quod praecipuis mentem sudoribus urget,
te videt in somnis; tua sacra et maior imago
humana turbat pavidum cogitque fateri.
Hi sunt, qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent,
cum tonat, exanimes primo quoque murmure caeli;
non quasi fortuitus, nec ventorum rabie, sed
iratus cadat in terras et iudicet ignis.

208 sola ω. saeva *P.* voluptas *P.* 226 vindicet ς.

Illa nihil nocuit, cura graviore timetur
proxima tempestas, velut hoc dilata sereno.
Praeterea, lateris vigili cum febre dolorem
si coepere pati, missum ad sua corpora morbum
infesto credunt a numine; saxa deorum
haec et tela putant. Pecudem spondere sacello
balantem et Laribus cristam promittere galli
non audent: quid enim sperare nocentibus aegris
concessum? vel quae non dignior hostia vita?

236-249.—*Nor can he stop in his career of crime; you will have the satisfaction of one day seeing him an exile or a prisoner.*

Mobilis et varia est ferme natura malorum.
Cum scelus admittunt, superest constantia: quid fas
atque nefas, tandem incipiunt sentire peractis
criminibus. Tamen ad mores natura recurrit
damnatos, fixa et mutari nescia. Nam quis
peccandi finem posuit sibi? quando recepit
eiectum semel attrita de fronte ruborem?
Quisnam hominum est, quem tu contentum videris uno
flagitio? Dabit in laqueum vestigia noster
perfidus et nigri patietur carceris uncum,
aut maris Aegaei rupem scopulosque frequentes
exulibus magnis. Poena gaudebis amara
nominis invisi tandemque fatebere laetus,
nec surdum, nec Tiresian quemquam esse deorum.

SATURA XIV

1-30.—*There are many faults, Fuscinus, which children learn from their parents, such as gambling, gluttony, cruelty, intrigue.*

PLURIMA sunt, Fuscine, et fama digna sinistra
et nitidis maculam haesuram figentia rebus,
quae monstrant ipsi pueris traduntque parentes.
Si damnosa senem iuvat alea, ludit et heres
bullatus, parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo.
Nec melius de se cuiquam sperare propinquo
concedet iuvenis, qui radere tubera terrae,
boletum condire et eodem iure natantes
mergere ficedulas didicit, nebulone parente
et cana monstrante gula. Cum septimus annus
transierit puerum, nondum omni dente renato,
barbatos licet admoveas mille inde magistros,
hinc totidem, cupiet lauto cenare paratu
semper, et a magna non degenerare culina.
Mitem animum et mores modicis erroribus aequos
praecipit, atque animas servorum et corpora nostra
materia constare putat paribusque elementis,
an saevire docet Rutilus, qui gaudet acerbo
plagarum strepitu et nullam Sirena flagellis
comparat, Antiphates trepidi Laris ac Polyphemus,
tum felix, quotiens aliquis tortore vocato
uritur ardenti duo propter lintea ferro?
Quid suadet iuveni laetus stridore catenae,
quem mire afficiunt inscripta, ergastula, carcer?
Rusticus exspectas, ut non sit adultera Largae

11 puero ω.

filia, quae numquam maternos dicere moechos
tam cito, nec tanto poterit contexere cursu,
ut non ter deciens respiret? Conscia matri
virgo fuit: ceras nunc hac dictante pusillas
implet, et ad moechum dat eisdem ferre cinaedis.

31-43.—*This is nature's law, and few, indeed, are made of such clay as to avoid pollution from evil examples; the bad you find everywhere, the good seldom.*

Sic natura iubet: velocius et citius nos
corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
cum subeunt animos auctoribus. Unus et alter
forsitan haec spernant iuvenes, quibus arte benigna
et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan:
sed reliquos fugienda patrum vestigia ducunt,
et monstrata diu veteris trahit orbita culpae.
Abstineas igitur damnandis: huius enim vel
una potens ratio est, ne crimina nostra sequantur
ex nobis geniti: quoniam dociles imitandis
turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus, et Catilinam
quocunque in populo videas, quocunque sub axe:
sed nec Brutus erit, Bruti nec avunculus umquam.

44-58.—*Keep far from the young whatever can corrupt them, otherwise they will follow your examples only too faithfully, and then with what face can you rebuke them?*

Nil dictu foedum visuque haec limina tangat,
intra quae pater est. Procul o, procul inde puellae
lenonum et cantus pernoctantis parasiti.
Maxima debetur puero reverentia. Si quid
turpe paras, nec tu pueri contempseris annos:

33 subeant ω.
43 umquam *P.* usquam *p.* ω. 45 puer ς.

sed peccaturo obsistat tibi filius infans.
Nam si quid dignum censoris fecerit ira
quandoque, et similem tibi se non corpore tantum
nec vultu dederit, morum quoque filius, et qui
omnia deterius tua per vestigia peccet:
corripies nimirum et castigabis acerbo
clamore ac post haec tabulas mutare parabis.
Unde tibi frontem libertatemque parentis,
cum facias peiora senex vacuumque cerebro
iam pridem caput hoc ventosa cucurbita quaerat?

59-69.—*You take great care to make your house clean and tidy when you expect a guest: will you not, for the sake of your son, keep it pure from vice?*

Hospite venturo, cessabit nemo tuorum.
"Verre pavimentum, nitidas ostende columnas,
arida cum tota descendat aranea tela;
hic leve argentum, vasa aspera tergeat alter:"
vox domini furit instantis virgamque tenentis.
Ergo miser trepidas, ne stercore foeda canino
atria displiceant oculis venientis amici,
nec perfusa luto sit porticus; et tamen uno
semodio scobis haec emendat servulus unus:
illud non agitas, ut sanctam filius omni
aspiciat sine labe domum vitioque carentem?

70-85.—*If you train him well, your son may be a blessing to his country; but as surely as young animals follow the habits of their species, so certainly will he be what your example makes him.*

Gratum est, quod patriae civem populoque dedisti,
si facis, ut patriae sit idoneus, utilis agris,
utilis et bellorum et pacis rebus agendis.

Plurimum enim intererit, quibus artibus et quibus hunc tu
moribus instituas. Serpente ciconia pullos
nutrit et inventa per devia rura lacerta:
illi eadem sumptis quaerunt animalia pinnis.
Vultur, iumento et canibus crucibusque relictis,
ad fetus properat, partemque cadaveris adfert.
Hic est ergo cibus magni quoque vulturis et se
pascentis, propria cum iam facit arbore nidos.
Sed leporem aut capream famulae Iovis et generosae
in saltu venantur aves: hic praeda cubili
ponitur: inde autem cum se matura levarit
progenies stimulante fame, festinat ad illam,
quam primum praedam rupto gustaverat ovo.

86-95.—*Cretonius wastes his substance in building numerous villas; his son ruins himself with building still more costly ones.*

Aedificator erat Cretonius et modo curvo
litore Caietae, summa nunc Tiburis arce,
nunc Praenestinis in montibus alta parabat
culmina villarum, Graecis longeque petitis
marmoribus, vincens Fortunae atque Herculis aedem,
ut spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides.
Dum sic ergo habitat Cretonius, imminuit rem,
fregit opes, nec parva tamen mensura relictae
partis erat: totam hanc turbavit filius amens,
dum meliore novas attollit marmore villas.

96-106.—*Another man leans to the superstitions of the Jews; his son becomes a proselyte, and despises all laws but those of Moses.*

Quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem,

88 levaret *P.* levabit ς. 86 Cetronius, *p.* ω.

nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant,
nec distare putant humana carne suillam,
qua pater abstinuit; mox et praeputia ponunt:
Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges,
Iudaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt ius,
tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moyses:
non monstrare vias, eadem nisi sacra colenti,
quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.
Sed pater in causa, cui septima quaeque fuit lux
ignava, et partem vitae non attigit ullam.

107-122.—*The only fault which must actually be taught to the young is avarice; and it is a lesson which fathers teach only too readily.*

Sponte tamen iuvenes imitantur cetera: solam
inviti quoque avaritiam exercere iubentur.
Fallit enim vitium specie virtutis et umbra,
cum sit triste habitu vultuque et veste severum,
nec dubie tamquam frugi laudetur avarus,
tamquam parcus homo, et rerum tutela suarum
certa magis, quam si fortunas servet easdem
Hesperidum serpens aut Ponticus. Adde quod hunc, de
quo loquor, egregium populus putat adquirendi
artificem: quippe his crescunt patrimonia fabris,
sed crescunt quocunque modo maioraque fiunt
incude adsidua semperque ardente camino.
Et pater ergo animi felices credit avaros,
qui miratur opes, qui nulla exempla beati
pauperis esse putat: iuvenes hortatur, ut illa
ire via peragant, et eidem incumbere sectae.

115 atque verendum ς.
121 illam ω. 122 viam ω. pergant ω

123-137.—*First, petty acts of meanness and stinginess are taught; stinting slaves, putting by stale provisions.*

Sunt quaedam vitiorum elementa: his protinus illos
imbuit et cogit minimas ediscere sordes;
mox adquirendi docet insatiabile votum.
Servorum ventres modio castigat iniquo,
ipse quoque esuriens: neque enim omnia sustinet umquam
mucida caerulei panis consumere frusta,
hesternum solitus medio servare minutal
Septembri, nec non differre in tempora cenae
alterius conchem aestivam cum parte lacerti
signatam, vel dimidio putrique siluro,
filaque sectivi numerata includere porri.
Invitatus ad haec aliquis de ponte negabit.
Sed quo divitias haec per tormenta coactas,
cum furor haud dubius, cum sit manifesta phrenesis,
ut locuples moriaris, egentis vivere fato?

138-155.—*Then villa is added to villa, field to field; or if the owners will not sell, you let your oxen into their crops.*

Interea pleno cum turget sacculus ore,
crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit;
et minus hanc optat qui non habet. Ergo paratur
altera villa tibi, cum rus non sufficit unum,
et proferre libet fines, maiorque videtur
et melior vicina seges: mercaris et hanc et
arbusta et densa montem qui canet oliva.
Quorum si pretio dominus non vincitur ullo,
nocte boves macri lassoque famelica collo

131 aestivi *p.* ω. 134 negavit *P.*
139 crescit *F.* crevit *P.*

iumenta ad virides huius mittentur aristas;
nec prius inde domum, quam tota novalia saevos
in ventres abeant, ut credas falcibus actum.
Dicere vix possis, quam multi talia plorent,
et quot venales iniuria fecerit agros.
Sed qui sermones! quam foedae buccina famae.—
"Quid nocet haec?" inquit. "Tunicam mihi malo lupini,
quam si me toto laudet vicinia pago,
exigui ruris paucissima farra secantem."—

156-160.—*You may own as much land as all Rome had under Tatius, but will that exempt you from old age or death?*

Scilicet et morbis et debilitate carebis,
et luctum et curam effugies, et tempora vitae
longa tibi post haec fato meliore dabuntur,
si tantum culti solus possederis agri,
quantum sub Tatio populus Romanus arabat.

161-171.—*Two jugera were given to our veteran soldiers, and on this they supported their whole families.*

Mox etiam fractis aetate ac Punica passis
proelia, vel Pyrrhum immanem, gladiosque Molossos,
tandem pro multis vix iugera bina dabantur
vulneribus; merces haec sanguinis atque laboris
nullis visa umquam meritis minor, aut ingratae
curta fides patriae; saturabat glebula talis
patrem ipsum turbamque casae, qua feta iacebat
uxor, et infantes ludebant quatuor, unus
vernula, tres domini: sed magnis fratribus horum
a scrobe vel sulco redeuntibus, altera cena
amplior et grandes fumabant pultibus ollae.

172-178.—*Now it would not be enough for a garden. Avarice is the most prolific source of crime.*

Nunc modus hic agri nostro non sufficit horto.
Inde fere scelerum causae; nec plura venena
miscuit, aut ferro grassatur saepius ullum
humanae mentis vitium, quam saeva cupido
immodici census: nam dives qui fieri vult,
et cito vult fieri. Sed quae reverentia legum,
quis metus aut pudor est umquam properantis avari?

179-188.—*Listen rather to the advice of the Sabellian parent to his sons.*

"Vivite contenti casulis et collibus istis,
o pueri!" Marsus dicebat et Hernicus olim
Vestinusque senex; "panem quaeramus aratro,
qui satis est mensis: laudant hoc numina ruris,
quorum ope et auxilio gratae post munus aristae
contingunt homini veteris fastidia quercus.
Nil vetitum fecisse volet, quem non pudet alto
per glaciem perone tegi; qui summovet Euros
pellibus inversis; peregrina ignotaque nobis
ad scelus atque nefas, quaecunque est, purpura ducit."—

189-207.—*In these days fathers urge their sons to put money in their purse; as lawyers, as centurions, as leather-sellers, or in any other unsavoury trade.*

Haec illi veteres praecepta minoribus: at nunc
post finem autumni media de nocte supinum
clamosus iuvenem pater excitat: "Accipe ceras,
scribe, puer, vigila, causas age, perlege rubras
maiorum leges; aut vitem posce libello,
sed caput intactum buxo naresque pilosas

adnotet, et grandes miretur Laelius alas.
Dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum,
ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus
adferat: aut, longos castrorum ferre labores
si piget, et trepidum solvunt tibi cornua ventrem
cum lituis audita, pares quod vendere possis
pluris dimidio, nec te fastidia mercis
ullius subeant ablegandae Tiberim ultra,
neu credas ponendum aliquid discriminis inter
unguenta et corium; lucri bonus est odor ex re
qualibet. Illa tuo sententia semper in ore
versetur, dis atque ipso Iove digna, poeta:
'unde habeas, quaerit nemo: sed oportet habere.'"—

208-224.—*These are the lessons crawling boys are taught and lisping girls. Yes, and they will pass you in your own acts. Your son will be a false witness before he shaves his beard, and alas for the wife who brings him any dower!—her days are numbered.*

Hoc monstrant vetulae pueris repentibus assae;
hoc discunt omnes ante alpha et beta puellae.
Talibus instantem monitis quemcunque parentem
sic possem adfari: "Dic, o vanissime, quis te
festinare iubet? meliorem praesto magistro
discipulum. Securus abi: vinceris, ut Aiax
praeteriit Telamonem, ut Pelea vicit Achilles.
Parcendum est teneris: nondum implevere medullas;
naturae mala nequitia est. Cum pectere barbam
coeperit, et longae mucronem admittere cultri,
falsus erit testis, vendet periuria summa
exigua, et Cereris tangens aramque pedemque.

199 trepido *p. ω.* 208 poscentibus assem *ς.*
216 maturae *ς.* nequitiae; cum *p. ω.* 217 longe *P.* longi *p. ω.*

Elatam iam crede nurum, si limina vestra
mortifera cum dote subit. Quibus illa premetur
per somnum digitis! nam quae terraque marique
adquirenda putas, brevior via conferet illi;
nullus enim magni sceleris labor."

224-232.—*Do you say you never taught him this? Yes, you started the chariot, though to stop it is beyond your power.*

"Haec ego numquam
mandavi," dices olim, "nec talia suasi."
Mentis causa malae tamen est et origo penes te.
Nam quisquis magni census praecepit amorem
et laevo monitu pueros producit avaros,
[et qui per fraudes patrimonia conduplicare],
dat libertatem, et totas effundit habenas
curriculo: quem si revoces, subsistere nescit,
et te contempto rapitur metisque relictis.

233-245.—*When you teach your son to love riches, which you yourself love better than the Decii loved Rome or Menoeceus Thebes, you have kindled a spark which you cannot extinguish.*

Nemo satis credit tantum delinquere, quantum
permittas: adeo indulgent sibi latius ipsi.
Cum dicis iuveni, stultum, qui donet amico,
qui paupertatem levet attollatque propinqui;
et spoliare doces et circumscribere et omni
crimine divitias adquirere, quarum amor in te,
quantus erat patriae Deciorum in pectore, quantum
dilexit Thebas, si Graecia vera, Menoeceus:
in quorum sulcis legiones dentibus anguis
cum clipeis nascuntur, et horrida bella capessunt
continuo, tamquam et tubicen surrexerit una.

Ergo ignem, cuius scintillas ipse dedisti,
flagrantem late et rapientem cuncta videbis.

246-255.—*Take care that you do not yourself stand in your son's way; parents and kings should always have antidotes at hand against poison.*

Nec tibi parcetur misero, trepidumque magistrum
in cavea magno fremitu leo tollet alumnus.
Nota mathematicis genesis tua: sed grave tardas
exspectare colus. Morieris stamine nondum
abrupto. Iam nunc obstas et vota moraris,
iam torquet iuvenem longa et cervina senectus.
Ocius Archigenen quaere atque eme quod Mithridates
composuit; si vis aliam decerpere ficum
atque alias tractare rosas, medicamen habendum est,
sorbere ante cibum quod debeat et pater et rex.

256-264.—*The sight of the avaricious man risking his life for money is more exciting than the theatre, more absorbing than the games.*

Monstro voluptatem egregiam, cui nulla theatra,
nulla aequare queas praetoris pulpita lauti,
si spectes, quanto capitis discrimine constent
incrementa domus, aerata multus in arca
fiscus, et ad vigilem ponendi Castora nummi,
ex quo Mars Ultor galeam quoque perdidit, et res
non potuit servare suas. Ergo omnia Florae
et Cereris licet et Cybeles aulaea relinquas:
tanto maiores humana negotia ludi.

265-283.—*What are the risks of the tight-rope to your ventures in your Cilician ship? Every sea is crowded with seekers for gain.*

An magis oblectant animum iactata petauro

corpora, quique solet rectum descendere funem,
quam tu, Corycia semper qui puppe moraris
atque habitas, Coro semper tollendus et Austro,
perditus ac vilis sacci mercator olentis,
qui gaudes pingue antiquae de litore Cretae
passum, et municipes Iovis advexisse lagonas?
Hic tamen ancipiti figens vestigia planta
victum illa mercede parat brumamque famemque
illa reste cavet: tu propter mille talenta
et centum villas temerarius. Aspice portus
et plenum magnis trabibus mare; plus hominum est iam
in pelago; veniet classis, quocunque vocarit
spes lucri, nec Carpathium Gaetulaque tantum
aequora transiliet, sed, longe Calpe relicta,
audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.
Grande operae pretium est, ut tenso folle reverti
inde domum possis, tumidaque superbus aluta,
Oceani monstra et iuvenes vidisse marinos.

284-302.—*Madness has diverse forms; one is an Orestes, another an Ajax; but the rash shipowner is as mad as any of them.*

Non unus mentes agitat furor. Ille sororis
in manibus vultu Eumenidum terretur et igni,
hic bove percusso mugire Agamemnona credit
aut Ithacum. Parcat tunicis licet atque lacernis,
curatoris eget qui navem mercibus implet
ad summum latus, et tabula distinguitur unda,
cum sit causa mali tanti et discriminis huius
concisum argentum in titulos faciesque minutas.
Occurrunt nubes et fulgura: "solvite funem,"
frumenti dominus clamat piperisque coempti;
"Nil color hic caeli, nil fascia nigra minatur;

aestivum tonat." Infelix hac forsitan ipsa
nocte cadet fractis trabibus, fluctuque premetur
obrutus, et zonam laeva morsuque tenebit.
Sed cuius votis modo non suffecerat aurum,
quod Tagus et rutila volvit Pactolus arena,
frigida sufficient velantes inguina panni
exiguusque cibus, mersa rate naufragus assem
dum rogat, et picta se tempestate tuetur.

303-314.—*And what anxiety in keeping what you have won! Look at Licinus with his fire-buckets! how much securer was Diogenes in his tub!*

Tantis parta malis cura maiore metuque
servantur. Misera est magni custodia census.
Dispositis praedives hamis vigilare cohortem
servorum noctu Licinus iubet, attonitus pro
electro signisque suis Phrygiaque columna,
atque ebore et lata testudine. Dolia nudi
non ardent Cynici: si fregeris, altera fiet
cras domus, aut eadem plumbo commissa manebit.
Sensit Alexander, testa cum vidit in illa
magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior hic, qui
nil cuperet, quam qui totum sibi posceret orbem,
passurus gestis aequanda pericula rebus.

315-331.—*My advice is, Get enough to support life and no more; or if that will not do, get the equestrian income, or even double that; if you want more, the wealth of Croesus would not satisfy you.*

Nullum numen habes, si sit Prudentia: nos te,
nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam. Mensura tamen quae
sufficiat census, si quis me consulat, edam:

in quantum sitis atque fames et frigora poscunt,
quantum, Epicure, tibi parvis suffecit in hortis,
quantum Socratici ceperunt ante penates.
Numquam aliud Natura, aliud Sapientia dicit.
Acribus exemplis videor te claudere? Misce
ergo aliquid nostris de moribus: effice summam,
bis septem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis.
Haec quoque si rugam trahit extenditque labellum,
sume duos equites, fac tertia quadringenta.
Si nondum implevi gremium, si panditur ultra,
nec Croesi fortuna umquam, nec Persica regna
sufficient animo, nec divitiae Narcissi,
indulsit Caesar cui Claudius omnia, cuius
paruit imperiis, uxorem occidere iussus.

SATURA XV

1-8.—*Who does not know of the superstitions of Egypt: how one part worships the crocodile, another the ibis or the ape, or the dog or the cat?*

QUIS nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Aegyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
pars haec; illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibin.
Effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,
dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae,
atque vetus Thebe centum iacet obruta portis.
Illic aeluros, hic piscem fluminis, illic
oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.

5 Memnona *B*. 7 aeruleos *P*. caeruleos *ω*.

9-26.—*Others will not touch the leek or the kid. Human flesh, however, they will eat,—a thing more strange and horrible than the stories of Laestrygones and Cyclopes which the Ithacan king tried to pass off on the Phaeacians.*

Porrum et cepe nefas violare et frangere morsu.
O sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur in hortis
numina. Lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis
mensa; nefas illic fetum iugulare capellae:
carnibus humanis vesci licet. Attonito cum
tale super cenam facinus narraret Ulixes
Alcinoo, bilem aut risum fortasse quibusdam
moverat, ut mendax aretalogus. "In mare nemo
hunc abicit, saeva dignum veraque Charybdi,
fingentem immanes Laestrygonas atque Cyclopas?
Nam citius Scyllam vel concurrentia saxa
Cyaneis, plenos et tempestatibus utres
crediderim, aut tenui percussum verbere Circes,
et cum remigibus grunnisse Elpenora porcis.
Tam vacui capitis populum Phaeaca putavit?"
Sic aliquis merito nondum ebrius et minimum qui
de Corcyraea temetum duxerat urna:
solus enim hoc Ithacus nullo sub teste canebat.

27-32.—*We have a recent tale to tell, and a true one, though too horrible for any tragedy.*

Nos miranda quidem, sed nuper consule Iunco
gesta super calidae referemus moenia Copti,
nos vulgi scelus et cunctis graviora cothurnis.
Nam scelus, a Pyrrha quamquam omnia syrmata volvas,
nullus apud tragicos populus facit. Accipe, nostro
dira quod exemplum feritas produxerit aevo.

18 et Cyclopas *B.* 27 Iunco *P. B.* Iunio *ς.*

33-52.—*There is an ancient feud between two cities, Ombi and Tentyra, caused by difference of religion. The former were holding a festival; the latter seized the opportunity to attack them amid their revels and intoxication.*

Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas,
immortale odium et numquam sanabile vulnus
ardet adhuc, Ombos et Tentyra. Summus utrimque
inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
odit uterque locus, cum solos credat habendos
esse deos, quos ipse colit. Sed tempore festo
alterius populi rapienda occasio cunctis
visa inimicorum primoribus ac ducibus, ne
laetum hilaremque diem, ne magnae gaudia cenae
sentirent, positis ad templa et compita mensis
pervigilique toro, quem nocte ac luce iacentem
septimus interdum sol invenit. Horrida sane
Aegyptus: sed luxuria, quantum ipse notavi,
barbara famoso non cedit turba Canopo.
Adde, quod et facilis victoria de madidis et
blaesis atque mero titubantibus. Inde virorum
saltatus nigro tibicine, qualiacunque
unguenta et flores multaeque in fronte coronae:
hinc ieiunum odium. Sed iurgia prima sonare
incipiunt animis ardentibus: haec tuba rixae.

53-71.—*At first the unarmed hand does duty for a weapon; then stones are used, such as the puny mortals of to-day can wield.*

Dein clamore pari concurritur, et vice teli
saevit nuda manus: paucae sine vulnere malae;
vix cuiquam aut nulli toto certamine nasus
integer. Aspiceres iam cuncta per agmina vultus
dimidios, alias facies et hiantia ruptis

ossa genis, plenos oculorum sanguine pugnos.
Ludere se credunt ipsi tamen et pueriles
exercere acies, quod nulla cadavera calcent:
et sane quo tot rixantis milia turbae,
si vivunt omnes? Ergo acrior impetus, et iam
saxa inclinatis per humum quaesita lacertis
incipiunt torquere, domestica seditioni
tela; nec hunc lapidem, quales et Turnus et Aiax
vel quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam
Aeneae; sed quem valeant emittere dextrae
illis dissimiles et nostro tempore natae.
Nam genus hoc vivo iam decrescebat Homero.
Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos:
ergo deus, quicunque aspexit, ridet et odit.

72-92.—*The Tentyrites begin to flee; one of them slips and is caught; and then, horrible to say, the conquerors cut him into pieces and devour his flesh raw. I congratulate the fire that it at least escaped pollution.*

A deverticulo repetatur fabula. Postquam
subsidiis aucti, pars altera promere ferrum
audet, et infestis pugnam instaurare sagittis,
terga fuga celeri praestantibus omnibus instans,
qui vicina colunt umbrosae Tentyra palmae.
Labitur hinc quidam, nimia formidine cursum
praecipitans, capiturque: ast illum in plurima sectum
frusta et particulas, ut multis mortuus unus
sufficeret, totum corrosis ossibus edit
victrix turba: nec ardenti decoxit aeno
aut verubus: longum usque adeo tardumque putavit
exspectare focos, contenta cadavere crudo.

64 seditioni ς. seditione *P.* ω.
57 instant ω. praestan *cum spatio quindecim vel duodevingti litterarum P.*

Hic gaudere libet, quod non violaverit ignem,
quem summa caeli raptum de parte Prometheus
donavit terris; elemento gratulor et te
exsultare reor. Sed qui mordere cadaver
sustinuit, nil umquam hac carne libentius edit.
Nam scelere in tanto ne quaeras et dubites, an
prima voluptatem gula senserit; ultimus autem,
qui stetit absumpto iam toto corpore, ductis
per terram digitis, aliquid de sanguine gustat.

93-112.—*The Vascones are said to have eaten human flesh; but that was in the extremity of a siege, and, though now Greek philosophy perhaps has penetrated the whole globe, in those days the rough Cantabrian could hardly know that Zeno would have disapproved their act.*

Vascones, haec fama est, alimentis talibus olim
produxere animas: sed res diversa, sed illic
Fortunae invidia est bellorumque ultima, casus
extremi, longae dira obsidionis egestas.
Huius enim, quod nunc agitur, miserabile debet
exemplum esse cibi: sicut modo dicta mihi gens
post omnes herbas, post cuncta animalia, quidquid
cogebat vacui ventris furor, hostibus ipsis
pallorem ac maciem et tenues miserantibus artus,
membra aliena fame lacerabant, esse parati
et sua. Quisnam hominum veniam dare, quisve deorum
urbibus abnuerit dira atque immania passis,
et quibus illorum poterant ignoscere manes,
quorum corporibus vescebantur? Melius nos
Zenonis praecepta monent: nec enim omnia quidam
pro vita facienda putant; sed Cantaber unde

104 urbibus *P.* viribus *p. ω.* ventribus *coni. Valesius.*
107 omnia, quaedam *p. ω.*

Stoicus, antiqui praesertim aetate Metelli?
Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas.
Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos:
de conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thule.

113-128.—*Saguntum had a similar excuse, and even the Tauric goddess, who sanctions human sacrifice, allows no cannibalism; but this puny Egyptian race perpetrate an act which no Scythian tribe would have done.*

Nobilis ille tamen populus, quem diximus, et par
virtute atque fide, sed maior clade, Zacynthos
tale quid excusat. Maeotide saevior ara
Aegyptus: quippe illa nefandi Taurica sacri
inventrix homines, ut iam quae carmina tradunt
digna fide credas, tantum immolat, ulterius nil
aut gravius cultro timet hostia. Quis modo casus
impulit hos? quae tanta fames infestaque vallo
arma coegerunt tam detestabile monstrum
audere? Anne aliam, terra Memphitide sicca,
invidiam facerent nolenti surgere Nilo?
Qua nec terribiles Cimbri, nec Brittones umquam,
Sauromataeque truces aut immanes Agathyrsi,
hac saevit rabie imbelle et inutile vulgus,
parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis,
et brevibus pictae remis incumbere testae.

129-158.—*Nature makes man merciful, teaches us to pity the wronged, to grieve for those cut off in their youth. By this we differ from the brute creation; this has led us to social life.*

Nec poenam sceleri invenies, nec digna parabis
supplicia his populis, in quorum mente pares sunt

114 Saguntus ω.

et similes ira atque fames. Mollissima corda
humano generi dare se natura fatetur,
quae lacrimas dedit: haec nostri pars optima sensus.
Plorare ergo iubet causam dicentis amici
squaloremque rei, pupillum ad iura vocantem
circumscriptorem, cuius manantia fletu
ora puellares faciunt incerta capilli.
Naturae imperio gemimus, cum funus adultae
virginis occurrit, vel terra clauditur infans,
et minor igne rogi. Quis enim bonus et face dignus
arcana, qualem Cereris vult esse sacerdos,
ulla aliena sibi credat mala? Separat hoc nos
a grege mutorum, atque ideo venerabile soli
sortiti ingenium divinorumque capaces
atque exercendis capiendisque artibus apti
sensum a caelesti demissum traximus arce,
cuius egent prona et terram spectantia. Mundi
principio indulsit communis conditor illis
tantum animas, nobis animum quoque, mutuus ut nos
adfectus petere auxilium et praestare iuberet,
dispersos trahere in populum, migrare vetusto
de nemore et proavis habitatas linquere silvas,
aedificare domos, Laribus coniungere nostris
tectum aliud, tutos vicino limine somnos
ut collata daret fiducia, protegere armis
lapsum, aut ingenti nutantem vulnere civem,
communi dare signa tuba, defendier îsdem
turribus, atque una portarum clave teneri.

134 casum lugentis *s*. 145 . . . . endis *P*. capiendis *p*.

159-174.—*But now it seems the beasts are more merciful to each other than men, who not only forge the sword and use it, but eat their enemies as well. What would Pythagoras say to this?*

Sed iam serpentum maior concordia: parcit
cognatis maculis similis fera; quando leoni
fortior eripuit vitam leo? quo nemore umquam
exspiravit aper maioris dentibus apri?
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
perpetuam; saevis inter se convenit ursis.
Ast homini ferrum letale incude nefanda
produxisse parum est; cum rastra et sarcula tantum
adsueti coquere, et marris ac vomere lassi
nescierint primi gladios extendere fabri.
Aspicimus populos, quorum non sufficit irae
occidisse aliquem; sed pectora, brachia, vultum
crediderint genus esse cibi. Quid diceret ergo,
vel quo non fugeret, si nunc haec monstra videret
Pythagoras, cunctis animalibus abstinuit qui
tamquam homine et ventri indulsit non omne legumen?

SATURA XVI

1-6.—*What numberless prizes are to be won by the soldier, if only he enters the service under a lucky star!*

Quis numerare queat felicis praemia, Galli,
militiae? Nam si subeuntur prospera castra,
me pavidum excipiat tironem porta secundo
sidere. Plus etenim fati valet hora benigni,
quam si nos Veneris commendet epistula Marti
et Samia genitrix quae delectatur arena.

168 nescierant *F.* excudere ς.
171 crediderant *F.* 172 nostra *F.* 1 Galle *p.* ω.

7-12.—*First, if he assaults a man, no one will venture to accuse him.*

Commoda tractemus primum communia: quorum
haud minimum illud erit, ne te pulsare togatus
audeat; immo etsi pulsetur, dissimulet, nec
audeat excussos praetori ostendere dentes
et nigram in facie tumidis livoribus offam
atque oculum, medico nil promittente, relictum.

13-28.—*For though the rough centurion who is assigned as a judge may do the accuser justice, there are the fellow-soldiers of the accused, who will take care that the revenge is more painful than the original wrong.*

Bardaicus iudex datur haec punire volenti,
calceus et grandes magna ad subsellia surae,
legibus antiquis castrorum et more Camilli
servato, miles ne vallum litiget extra
et procul a signis. Iustissima centurionum
cognitio est igitur de milite; nec mihi dêrit
ultio, si iustae defertur causa querelae.
Tota tamen cohors est inimica, omnesque manipli
consensu magno efficiunt, curabilis ut sit
vindicta et gravior, quam iniuria. Dignum erit ergo
declamatoris mulino corde Vagelli,
cum duo crura habeas, offendere tot caligas, tot
milia clavorum. Quis tam procul absit ab urbe
praeterea? quis tam Pylades, molem aggeris ultra
ut veniat? Lacrimae siccentur protinus, et se
excusaturos non sollicitemus amicos.

12 oculos—relictos ω. 20 tamen cohors *P.* cohors tamen ω.
23 mulino *P.* ω. Mutinensi *S.* ς.

29-34.—*Then who will induce any of his friends to appear as witnesses for him?*

"Da testem," iudex cum dixerit, audeat ille,
nescio quis, pugnos qui vidit, dicere "vidi,"
et credam dignum barba, dignumque capillis
maiorum. Citius falsum producere testem
contra paganum possis, quam vera loquentem
contra fortunam armati contraque pudorem.

35-50.—*Then again civilians have to wait perhaps a year to get a hearing if they have a suit; the soldier is allowed to plead at once with no delay.*

Praemia nunc alia atque alia emolumenta notemus
sacramentorum. Convallem ruris aviti
improbus aut campum mihi si vicinus ademit
et sacrum effodit medio de limite saxum,
quod mea cum patulo coluit puls annua libo;
debitor aut sumptos pergit non reddere nummos,
vana supervacui dicens chirographa ligni:
exspectandus erit, qui lites incohet, annus
totius populi. Sed tunc quoque mille ferenda
taedia, mille morae; totiens subsellia tantum
sternuntur; iam facundo ponente lacernas
Caedicio, et Fusco iam micturiente, parati
digredimur: lentaque fori pugnamus arena.
Ast illis, quos arma tegunt et balteus ambit,
quod placitum est ipsis, praestatur tempus agendi,
nec res atteritur longo sufflamine litis.

51-60.—*Lastly, the soldier may make a will while his father still lives, and so you may often see a parent playing legacy-hunter to his son.*

Solis praeterea testandi militibus ius

vivo patre datur: nam, quae sunt parta labore
militiae, placuit non esse in corpore census,
omne tenet cuius regimen pater. Ergo Coranum
signorum comitem, castrorumque aera merentem,
quamvis iam tremulus, captat pater. Hunc favor aequus
provehit, et pulchro reddit sua dona labori.
Ipsius certe ducis hoc referre videtur,
ut, qui fortis erit, sit felicissimus idem,
ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus omnes—

* * * * *

56 labor *P.* ω. favor *coni. Ruperti.*
60 in *P. extremi quaternionis cetera desunt.*

NOTES

SATIRE I

1. **auditor,** here "a listener to recitations." Conf. Plin. *Ep.* i. 13, "ne videar quorum recitationibus adfui, non auditor fuisse sed creditor." Elsewhere it means a pupil. Conf. the phrase *audire magistrum.*

reponam, "retaliate," "give tit for tat." Weidner quotes Sen. *Ep.* 81, 9, "non dicimus 'reposuit' beneficium aut 'solvit,' nullum enim nobis placuit quod aeri alieno convenit verbum."

2. **totiens.** The recitation was not repeated, but continued from day to day, until the play was finished. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* iii. 18, 4, and iv. 27, 1, "tertius dies est, quod audivi recitantem Sentium Augurinum."

Cordi. Cordus was a third-rate poet of the time. Martial describes him as something of a fop, "alpha paenulatorum," ii. 57, 4.

3. **togatas** (*fabulas*). These were comedies in which the scene was at Rome, and the characters appeared in the *toga.* On the other hand, plays like those of Plautus and Terence were adaptations from Greek originals, and in them Athens was the place of action. These latter were *palliatae* (*pallium*). More serious plays, dealing with Roman historical subjects, were called *praetextae* (see Hor. *A. P.* 288), while the *tragoediae* of writers like Accius and Pacuvius dealt generally with Greek mythology. Afranius was a writer of *togatae.* Conf. Hor. *A. P.* 57.

4. **elegos.** Horace, *A. P.* 75, says that elegiacs were originally confined to plaintive subjects, but were afterwards used for love-poetry as well.

These recitations Juvenal considers (iii. 9) one of the most serious evils of city life. They frequently took place in private as an after-dinner entertainment, when the host would inflict his own compositions on his guests; but it is the public recita-

tions to which Juvenal here specially refers. These were held in the porticoes of temples (vii. 37), or the reciter would hire a house and fit it up with benches, etc. (vii. 40); or he might borrow a room, or (as in line 12) an avenue of plane-trees, from some rich friend. Frequently freedmen were hired to applaud at the proper places (vii. 43). At these recitations not only were the unfortunate clients compelled to be present, but also all the friends and acquaintances of the poet, who no doubt hoped to secure an audience for themselves on a similar occasion. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* i. 13.

5. **Telephus** (see *Class. Dict.*) He is mentioned in Hor. *A. P.* 96, as a typical character in tragedy.

summi plena iam margine libri, "when the margin at the border of the roll is filled." *summi*, its extremity in each direction. Notice the gender of *margo.*

6. **in tergo**. Conf. Mart. viii. 62, 1, "scribit in aversa Picens epigrammata charta."

The *Orestes*, by some unknown writer, was written on the margin and on the back of the papyrus. Rolls written on both sides were called *opisthographi.* Conf. Plin. *Ep.* iii. 5, 17.

7. **lucus Martis**, the grove where Romulus and Remus were born, or that among the Colchi where the Golden Fleece was hung.

8. **Aeoliis . . . rupibus**, the Lipari Islands, visited by the Argonauts. Lipara is described by Vergil (*Aen.* viii. 422) as "Vulcani domus."

9. **torqueat**, tortures. Aeacus was a judge in Hades. Conf. Hor. *Od.* ii. 13, 22. The subjunctives *agant, torqueat,* etc., belong to substantival clauses after *clamant.*

10. **alius**, another mythical hero, *i.e.* Jason. For the story of the Golden Fleece, see *Class. Dict.* For "alius" in this sense, conf. *Sat.* x. 257.

11. **Monychus**, by syncope for Mononychus, single-hoofed. He was one of the centaurs who fought against the Lapithae.

12. **Frontonis platani.** Plane-trees were favourites on account of their shade. Horace complains (*Od.* ii. 15, 4) that the plane-trees were thrusting out the elms, which were useful for training vines on—"Platanusque caelebs evincet ulmos." Fronto, perhaps T. Catius Fronto, consul in 96 A.D., lends his gardens for recitations, as Pliny (*Ep.* viii. 12) says of Titinius Capito, "domum suam recitantibus praebet."

marmora, marble statues, perhaps on pedestals along the avenue.

13. **adsiduo ruptae lectore.** Conf. *Sat.* vii. 86. Notice the absence of the preposition *ab.* It is not really an ablative

of agent, but an instance of the concrete put for the abstract, *adsiduitate lectoris.* So *Sat.* ix. 150, "effugit remige surdo"; see also *Sat.* iii. 240; Hor. *Ep.* i. 1, 94, "inaequali tonsore."

14. **a summo minimoque.** Conf. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 117, "Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim."

15. **ergo**, the Greek ἔργῳ. In later writers the *o* becomes short; see note on line 79.

manum ferulae subduximus, *i.e.* we have undergone the usual training of the grammar schools, at which the poets were especially studied. That this training was often assisted by the rod we know from Horace, *Ep.* ii. 1, 70, who describes his old schoolmaster Orbilius as *plagosus.* Martial, x. 62, 10, speaks of "ferulae tristes, sceptra paedagogorum."

16. **consilium dedimus Sullae.** This refers to the schools of rhetoric, where various theses were given for declamation. These theses were divided into *suasoriae* and *controversiae*, Tac. *Dial.* 35. The subject in this case belongs to the former class. Advice is to be offered to Sulla that he should lay aside the cares of his dictatorship. This, as a matter of history, he did, spending the last year of his life in retirement near Cumae. Another thesis belonging to the same class is mentioned by Quintilian as an imaginary speech of Priam before Achilles. See also *Sat.* vii. 162, where Hannibal's proper course after the battle of Cannae is the subject for deliberation. Tacitus severely criticises these schools, and says it is difficult to decide "utrum locus ipse an condiscipuli an genus studiorum plus mali ingeniis adferant."

17. **altum dormiret**; cognate accus. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 295.

18. **periturae . . . chartae**, the papyrus that is sure to be wasted. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 17.

19. **decurrere**, a term specially applicable to the circus. Conf. Ovid, *Met.* x. 597, "decursa novissima meta est."

20. **magnus . . . Auruncae . . . alumnus**, *i.e.* Lucilius, the founder of Roman satire. Conf. Mart. xii. 95, 7, "audemus saturas; Lucilius esse laboras." He lived 148-103 B.C., and was a member of the literary circle that clustered round the younger Scipio. He showed up the vices of his time in a most uncompromising way, and though his composition was careless and his language rude, he is spoken of in high terms by Horace, *Sat.* ii. 1, 62 foll., etc.; Juvenal, i. 165; and Quintilian, x. 1, 93. Suessa Aurunca was a town in Latium once belonging to the Aurunci. See Liv. viii. 15.

alumnus was originally *aluminus*, an old participial form from *alo*, corresponding to the Greek part. in μενος, and which also survives in the 2d pers. plur. of passive verbs, as *amamini*, to which *estis* was originally the auxiliary.

21. **rationem** = my account of myself.

23. **figat aprum**, *i.e.* in the amphitheatre, where Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 32, relates that in Nero's reign senators, and even women, fought with wild beasts. Conf. *Sat.* iv. 99, and viii. 193.

nuda . . . mamma, *i.e.* dressed like an Amazon. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 492. The subjunctives with *cum* are potential, not causal.

25. **quo tondente**, "under whose razor." Probably Cinnamus is intended, to whom Martial says, *Ep.* vii. 64, 1-2, "Qui tonsor fueras tota notissimus urbe, et post haec dominae munere factus eques." The same poet mentions an upstart cobbler who gained similar wealth, *Ep.* ix. 74. Conf. *Sat.* x. 226. The line is a parody of Verg. *Ecl.* i. 29.

26. **pars.** Conf. *Sat.* viii. 44, "vulgi pars ultima nostri."

verna Canopi, a noted seaport near Alexandria inhabited by Greeks (see *Sat.* xv. 46), and distant about fifteen miles. *verna* was a slave born in the house of his master. So here "born and bred at." Martial, i. 76, calls a thoroughbred Roman "Numae verna." Conf. also "vernula riparum," *Sat.* v. 105.

27. **Crispinus**, spoken of again in the beginning of Satire iv., was made an eques, possibly even praetorian praefect, by Domitian. Once a seller of salt fish in Egypt, he was now a court favourite whom Martial thought it advisable to propitiate by a compliment in *Ep.* vii. 99, 2, "Nec te Roma minus quam tua Memphis amet."

revocante, hitching up.

lacernas, a cloak, often of purple, worn by the rich over the *toga.* When worn at the games it was white. Conf. Martial, *Ep.* xiv. 137, "Cum tegit algentes alba lacerna togas." See note on *lacernatae*, *infra*, 62. Martial, viii. 48, 1, speaks of Crispinus having "Tyriam abollam." Juvenal, ix. 28, calls the *lacernae* "munimenta togae."

28. **aestivum . . . aurum**, the summer ring. It was apparently usual for the rich and luxurious to have different rings for summer and winter. So *gemmae maioris* is the winter ring.

29. **saturam.** The term *satura* has passed through several meanings. At first it was a sort of impromptu dramatic performance, or exordium following more regular dramatic pieces. Conf. Liv. vii. 2, 7. Then it came to be a miscellaneous poem dealing with everything. Of this kind were the *Satires* of Ennius, and to some extent also those of Lucilius, in whom however *satire*, in its modern sense, became so prominent that it came to be the distinguishing point of *saturae.* However, both in Horace and Juvenal (*Sat.* i. 85), the old meaning of

medley still has some force, while even its dramatic origin is visible in the frequent dialogues contained in the Horatian *Satires*. Four derivations are given—(1) "a Satyris quod in hoc carmine ridiculae res dicuntur"; (2) *satura* = "full," with *lanx* understood, a dish made up of all kinds of ingredients; (3) a kind of sausage made up of all kinds of things, which Varro says was called *satura;* (4) the frolicsome song of those *saturi:* conf. *Sat.* vii. 62, "satur est, cum dicit Horatius, Euhoe!"

32. **causidici**, a petty pleader, as opposed to "orator." See Cic. *de Orat.* i. 46, 202.

Mathonis. Matho ultimately became bankrupt, as we learn from *Sat.* vii. 129. Conf. also xi. 34.

33. **plena ipso**; occasionally the *lectica* carried two. Suet. *Ner.* 9.

magni delator amici. This arch-informer, at whom all the rest tremble, is in all probability M. Aquilius Regulus, of whom Pliny says (*Ep.* i. 5, 14), "Regulus omnium bipedum nequissimus . . . nec me praeterit esse Regulum δυσκαθαίρετον: est enim locuples, factiosus, curatur a multis, timetur a pluribus," etc. Others say it was P. Egnatius Celer, the Stoic who betrayed his pupil, *Sat.* iii. 116, and Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 30; or Heliodorus who accused his pupil, L. Junius Silanus, *ib.* xv. 32.

In former days it had been considered a good entrance into public life for young nobles to impeach some flagrant offender before the jury courts, while the profession of *advocatus*, as we see in the case of Cicero and Hortensius and many others, was one of honour and wealth. Under the Empire, on the other hand, freedom of speech was more and more curtailed, not only in the senate, but also in law courts, until the practice of the law ceased to hold out attractions to the higher classes sufficient to counterbalance its dangers. But the place thus vacated was soon occupied by a new class of men—the *delatores*. These were among the *instrumenta imperii*, men whom emperors like Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian found useful in nipping the first bud of open discontent, in getting rid of too powerful citizens, and in replenishing the *fiscus* with their confiscated property. That men like Massa and Carus and Latinus and this arch-delator should rise to influence and power excites Juvenal's bitterest indignation. Tacitus looks at this class of men from the point of view of the nobility, and calls them "genus hominum publico exitio repertum." Juvenal detests them more as a crying shame to the state, and the oppressors of poorer but better men.

34. **de nobilitate comesa.** It was the nobility on whom emperors like Nero and Domitian chiefly practised their cruelty,

and the principal means of destruction was the *delatio*, which had become so systematic. See note on Sat. iii. 117.

35. **Massa.** Baebius Massa was originally a freedman, but became *procurator Africae*, Tac. *Hist.* iv. 50. He ingratiated himself with the emperor by acting as a *delator*, and as Tacitus (*loc. cit.*) says, was "optimo cuique exitiosus." He was subsequently promoted from the equestrian to the senatorial career, as we find him proconsul of Baetica in 93 A.D., in the name of which province he was accused of *repetundae* by Pliny and Herennius Senecio, Tac. *Agric.* 45, and Plin. *Ep.* vii. 33, 4 foll.

36. **Carus.** Mettius Carus was another informer, who began his career about 93 A.D. (Tac. *Agric.* 45). He accused and caused the condemnation of Herennius Senecio for writing a life of Helvidius Priscus (Plin. *Ep.* vii. 19, 5). Conf. Mart. xii. 25, 5, "Ecce reum Carus te detulit," and see the story of Carus and Regulus in Plin. *Ep.* i. 5, 3.

Thymele, an actress sent by her husband Latinus, who united the callings of mime and informer, to propitiate the anger of this arch-informer. Suetonius (*Dom.* 15) says that Latinus used to tell Domitian the day's gossip. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 197, and Mart. i. 5, 5.

43. **ut nudis qui pressit**, etc. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 379.

44. **aut Lugudunensem rhetor,** etc. When Gaul was organised by Augustus, he distributed it into sixty-four cantons or *civitates*, which sent deputies once a year, on 1st August, to Lugdunum, where an altar and temple were erected to Rome and Augustus. This meeting was the *concilium provinciae*. Its duties were mainly to celebrate a religious anniversary in honour of Augustus, but the deputies could also make complaints or institute accusations against corrupt governors. Similar *concilia* existed in all the provinces. Caligula took advantage of the annual festival, and added a contest for rhetoricians. The successful had prizes, the unsuccessful punishments—the latter consisting in composing panegyrics on their successful rivals, while the very bad ones had the choice between expunging their productions with their tongues, being flogged, or being ducked in the Rhone. See Suet. *Calig.* 20.

45. **iecur**, the seat of the passions. It is the same word as ἧπαρ. Conf. equus and ἵππος : πέντε and quinque.

siccum, because heated with anger.

46. **premit**, hustles, *i.e.* in the streets. Conf. *Sat.* iii. 244.

47. **pupilli.** A *pupillus* was a ward under the charge of a tutor, from whom he was freed at the age of fourteen, to pass into the care of a curator till his twenty-fifth year.

48. **infamia** = ἀτιμία, loss of civic rights.

49. **Marius Priscus**, a native of Baetica, was accused in 100 A.D. of extortion in his proconsulship of Africa. He was condemned, ordered to refund 700,000 sesterces, and banished from Italy. His accusers were the younger Pliny and Tacitus. This condemnation of Marius probably took place a few years before Juvenal began to publish his *Satires*. It is again referred to in *Sat.* viii. 120: "cum tenues nuper Marius discinxerit Afros." The sentence is called "inane," because the unfortunate province was not benefited by it, while Marius was hardly injured. See Plin. *Ep.* ii. 11.

Exul (*ex solum*). Conf. *vertere solum*, "to be banished"; or from root *sal* found in *consul*, etc.

ab octava (*hora*). The ninth was the usual hour for dining. So Martial, iv. 8, 6, says, "imperat exstructos frangere nona toros." To dine before this was a mark of luxury, because it trenched upon the working hours. Conf. Hor. *Od.* i. 1, 20, "partem solido demere de die," and the phrase "tempestiva convivia."

50. **victrix**, *i.e.* in the impeachment.

51. **credam**, deliberative conjunctive.

Venusina digna lucerna. Horace was born at Venusia in Apulia (B.C. 65). *lucerna*, *i.e.* the lamp by which he exposed vice.

52. **agitem**; perhaps a metaphor from hunting, "make my quarry."

Heracleas aut Diomedeas, an epic about Heracles or Diomede. Notice the generalising force of the plural. For a striking parallel, conf. Mart. x. 4, "Qui legis Oedipodem, caligantemque Thyestem, Colchidas et Scyllas, quid nisi monstra legis?" etc.

53. **mugitum Labyrinthi**, *i.e.* the story of the Cretan Minotaur.

54. **mare percussum puero.** The boy is Icarus. See *Class. Dict.* "Puero" is not the agent, but the instrument, because the boy was a dead weight falling, not a voluntary agent at all. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iv. 2, 3-4.

fabrum volantem. Daedalus, a name derived from the Greek δαίδαλος, which means skilful. See *Sat.* iii. 25, and note *ad loc.*

58. **curam sperare cohortis**, *i.e.* to be appointed praefect of a cohort of auxiliaries. Young men entering on the equestrian *cursus honorum* first joined the army as centurions (*Sat.* xiv. 193), rising through the *primipilatus* to the praefecture of a cohort, the military tribuneship in a legion, and lastly the praefecture of a cavalry *ala*, Suet. *Claud.* 35. These posts

were granted by the emperor's favour, who often allowed the patronage to be exercised by his courtiers. See *Sat.* vii. 89 foll.

60. **censu**, first the rating, then the income, at which a person was rated.

axe citato. Conf. the expressions "gradu citato," "equo citato."

61. **Flaminiam** (*viam*), the road leading north up to Ariminum, as the Appia Via led south to Capua.

puer Automedon, "a youthful Automedon." Automedon was armour-bearer to Achilles, and is used for a charioteer generally. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 477.

62. **ipse** refers to "puer Automedon." Others, however, take it as referring to Domitian in the sense of "the great man," "the master," a sense which *ipse* often bears. If so, the young favourite would be holding the reins while the emperor showed himself off (*se iactaret*).

lacernatae, "dressed in manly garb." The *lacerna* was especially used at the amphitheatre and the Campus Martius.

64. **iam sexta cervice.** The "iam" implies that the number of bearers would probably be increased. At present he used a hexaphoros. Cicero speaks of Verres being carried in an octophoros.

65. **nuda . . . cathedra**, the curtains being drawn back. The *cathedra*, unlike the *sella*, was large enough to loll in. It was generally used by women.

66. **multum referens de Maecenate supino**, "strongly reminding one of the lolling Maecenas." Conf. *Sat.* xii. 39, "vestem teneris Maecenatibus aptam." Prof. Mayor quotes a number of passages from Seneca, Pliny, Tacitus, Dio Cassius, to show that Maecenas was a fop, an epicure, a hard drinker, etc.

67. **signator, falso qui.** If a comma is placed after *signator*, *falso* is ablative, and *exiguis tabulis* and *gemma uda* in apposition to it: "by forgery, *i.e.* by etc." Without the comma, *falso* might be dat. closely joining with *signator*: *falsi* (sc. *testamenti*) has also been conjectured.

68. **exiguis tabulis**, with a short concise will, because the whole estate was left to him; there were no divisions and no legacies, conf. *Sat.* xii. 125, "atque omnia soli forsan Pacuvio breviter dabit."

gemma . . . uda. The seal was moistened before being used.

69. **Calenum**, a wine from Cales in Campania, a district rich in vineyards.

70. **rubeta**, a poison extracted from frogs called *rubetae*, because they are only found among bushes, according to Pliny,

who says they are "plenae veneficiorum," *H. N.* xxxii. § 50. The abl. with *miscet* is a better reading than the accus. of the old editions.

71. **instituit.** Suetonius (*Ner.* 33) says that Nero actually sent pupils to Locusta, "sed et discipulos dedit."

melior Locusta, "a nobler born Locusta"; she was *matrona potens.* Locusta was a Gallic woman whose aid Nero used in poisoning Britannicus, and Agrippina in poisoning the Emperor Claudius. See Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 15. Prof. Mayor gives an interesting account of the prevalence of poisoning at Rome in this period.

72. **per famam et populum,** hendiadys.

efferre, the ordinary word for "to carry out a corpse." Conf. Mart. viii. 43, 1, "effert uxores Fabius, Chrestilla maritos."

73. **brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum.** Gyaros was a barren island in the Aegean, much used by the emperors for banishing state offenders, Tac. *Ann.* iii. 69. Under the empire the old *igni et aquae interdictio* had given place to two kinds of exile. (1) *Exilium*, properly so called, or *deportatio in insulam.*—The prisoner was conveyed, often in chains, to some definite spot, and he lost his *civitas*, and probably his property. (2) *Relegatio in insulam.*—Under this the exile went into banishment without guards, was not so closely confined to one spot, and did not lose his *civitas.* The word *carcere* implies that *deportatio* is here meant. Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 245.

75. **Criminibus debent,** etc. Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 24.

hortos. The pleasure-gardens of the rich nobles occupied much space in and around Rome; they were usually adorned with porticoes and colonnades, and avenues of plane-trees. Among the most celebrated were the *horti Maecenatis*, beyond the Esquiline, and the *horti Sallustii.*

praetoria. The *praetorium* was first the general's tent in camp, then a provincial governor's palace, and lastly, any grand house or villa.

mensas. The tables most valued were made of citrus wood, being made of single sections of the tree. Conf. the expression "latis orbibus," *infra*, 137. One of the largest of these, as we learn from Pliny, was owned by Nomius, a freedman of Tiberius. Seneca owned as many as 500. One formerly belonging to Cicero fetched 500,000 sesterces.

76. **stantem extra pocula caprum,** "a goat embossed outside the cup," an allusion to a celebrated bowl belonging to Instantius Rufus, on which Martial writes an epigram (viii. 51). Conf. line 9, "stat caper Aeolio Thebani vellere Phryxi," etc. The goat was sacred to Bacchus, Verg. *Georg.* ii. 380.

78. **praetextatus**, while still in the *praetexta*, or boy's *toga*. Cicero says of Antonius, *Phil.* ii. § 44, "praetextatum te decoxisse."

79. **indignatio**. In the earlier writers like Lucretius and Vergil, the final "o" of these nouns is long; but there was a continuous tendency to shorten final syllables. Thus the 3rd person sing. of verbs was originally long, as we see in Ennius, and in a few passages of Vergil, which ought to be regarded as archaisms.

80. **Cluvienus**, some scribbler of the time.

81. **Ex quo Deucalion.** Conf. *Sat.* xv. 30.

82. **montem.** Said by Ovid, *Met.* i. 316, to have been Parnassus; others say Othrys, Aetna, or Athos.

sortesque poposcit, "and demanded the oracles." *sortes* were properly pieces of wood inscribed with verses, which were shuffled and then drawn. Vergil uses the expression "Lyciae sortes," *Aen.* iv. 346; and Prof. Mayor says that this was peculiarly an Italian mode of divination.

83. **caluerunt mollia**, grew warm and soft. Conf. Ov. *Met.* i. 400. This is the proleptic use of the adjective; like *lucida tela tergunt*, "they wipe their darts bright."

85. **quidquid agunt.** For this description of the contents of Juvenal's *Satires*, see note on line 29, *supra*.

86. **discursus**, distractions; lit. "hurry and skurry."

farrago, the medley; lit. "a mess of various kinds of corn (*far*) given to cattle."

88. **avaritiae sinus.** No doubt Mr. Macleane is right in explaining this as the fold of the *toga* where the purse hung. Avarice is represented as ever holding open her *toga* to receive more.

89. **hos animos** (sc. *habuit*), displayed such vigour and life. For an account of the various games with dice (*tali* and *tesserae*), see Becker's *Gallus*, pp. 499-501. See also note on *Sat.* xi. 132.

Neque enim, nor, indeed. *enim* frequently strengthens an assertion, as in *enimvero*, *etenim*. In Plautus it is almost always an asseverative particle. Conf. *Trin.* 1134, and *Capt.* iii. 4, 60.

loculis, dim. of *locus*; here "purses." The word is used by Horace, *Sat.* i. vi. 74, of the satchels carried to school by boys.

90. **tabulae**, the gaming-table.

posita = *deposita*, staked. Conf. Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 31 and 36. Gaming was a very usual amusement after dinner. Augustus, according to Suetonius, was very fond of a game at dice; while Claudius wrote a book on the subject. On **arca**, conf. xiv. 259.

91. **dispensatore**, a slave who kept his master's accounts and made payments for him. He was one of the *servi ordinarii.* The emperor's *dispensatores,* like his *procuratores,* were often public officials. Pliny speaks of a slave of Nero being *dispensator Armeniaci belli, H. N.* vii. 129. His duty would be to provide the means for a real war, as here for a gambling contest.

92. **sestertia centum**, 100,000 sesterces; *sestertium* being a sum. For expressing larger sums the usual way was to use the numeral adverb with *sestertium, centena milia* being supplied. A *sestertius,* originally = 2½ *asses* (*semi-tertius*), was at this period equivalent to 4. Four sesterces made a *denarius* (*decem asses*).

simplex furor, sheer madness.

93. **horrenti**, etc. Conf. *Sat.* ix. 68, "Quid dicam scapulis puerorum aquilone Decembri?"

tunicam, the usual dress of slaves and the lower orders. Conf. Horace's expression, "tunicato popello," *Ep.* i. 7, 65.

reddere, to give something which is due, like ἀποδιδόναι.

94. **fercula septem**, "seven courses," and this too *secreto* "without company." Augustus usually had only three, Suet. *Aug.* 74. *ferculum = fericulum,* that which is carried or served up. The *fercula* were the courses of the *cena* proper, served after the *gustatio.*

95. **sportula.** One of the most regular, and it may be added one of the most irksome, of the duties owed by clients to their patrons was the early morning *salutatio.* As a return for this and other duties it had in earlier times been customary for the patron to invite them to dinner with him after the day's work was over; while on such special occasions as a birthday or a marriage, a *publica cena* would be given to all the clients together. This was probably the state of things till Nero's reign, when Suetonius (*Ner.* 16) tells us—"Adhibitus sumptibus modus: publicae cenae ad sportulas redactae." Instead of a regular dinner (*recta cena*) the client now received some portions of food, which he took away in a basket (*sportula*). For the sake of convenience this was soon commuted into a small money payment, usually 100 *quadrantes,* or 25 *asses.* The same custom was no doubt applied to the *privatae* as well as the *publicae cenae,* until *sportula* lost its original meaning and came to mean the money-dole only, as it does in this passage. Domitian, we learn, also from Suetonius (*Dom.* 7), not liking the system of money payments, "sportulas publicas sustulit, revocata rectarum cenarum consuetudine." This change, as we know from Martial's Third Book, was unwelcome to the clients, as, instead of the money-dole, however small, they were now insulted with inferior food to that served for the rest of the company. Conf. Juvenal, *Sat.* v.; Martial, iii. 60, 1-2—

"Cum vocor ad cenam, non iam venalis ut ante,
Cur mihi non eadem quae tibi cena datur?"

The change, however, was of short duration, and the money-dole soon reintroduced. Out of this the client had to provide the necessaries of life, "hinc toga, calceus hinc est, et panis fumusque domi," *Sat.* i. 119; and though he still hoped for an invitation to dinner, he rarely received one, *id.* 133. He might, however, apparently earn more than one *sportula* in the day, though the amount of labour so involved would be very ill requited by another 100 *quadrantes*. After the *salutatio* was over, which involved rising before break of day, and then a walk through snow or rain or crowded streets, the patron had to be accompanied on his round of visits, then to the Forum, then to the baths, while at all recitations the unfortunate client was expected to lead the applause, and after all this, as Juvenal says, "nusquam minor est iactura clientis."

primo limine. They were not allowed even to enter the house.

96. **turbae togatae**. It was literally a crowd, for the patrons vied with one another in gathering large numbers of clients to attend. Not the least of the hardships of the clients was the necessity of appearing always in the hot and heavy *toga*, which among the rich at Rome was falling more and more into disuse (iii. 171). The necessity of keeping the *toga* clean and white must have entailed considerable expense. In former times the relation between client and patron had been one of mutual advantage. The client had supported his patron at elections; he had contributed towards his expenses when in office; and had been expected generally to render such services, whether complimentary or actual, as his patron might from time to time require. The *patronus*, on the other hand, had given legal advice, was the guardian of his client's children, and treated him generally as a humble friend. Now all this was changed; the client was ousted by the Greek adventurers, or only retained to crowd the *atrium* of his patron at the morning *salutatio*, or to accompany him on his round of business or pleasure; while the only recognition of or return for these services was the paltry *centum quadrantes*.

97. **Ille**, the patron.

98. **suppositus**, personating some one else.

falso nomine. There would naturally be a *nomenclator* by, with a list of those who had a right to the *sportula*.

100. **ipsos Troiugenas**. The old noble families traced their descent back to the Trojans. Of course the whole of Vergil's *Aeneid* rests on this idea. See *Sat.* viii. 56, 181; xi. 95.

101. "**Da praetori**," etc. We must suppose that even the

rich and noble and men in office did not disdain to receive for their morning calls the one hundred *quadrantes*, which Friedländer says they no doubt passed on to their own attendants; but Juvenal's words below, line 118, show that they regarded the *sportula* as a part of their income. See Mart. ii. 18, who says to Maximus, "Mane salutatum venio; tu diceris isse ante salutatum: iam sumus ergo pares"; and conf. x. 10, quoted in note on line 117.

102. **libertinus.** A man was *libertinus* in relation to the state: *libertus* in relation to his former master.

104. **natus ad Euphraten,** perhaps in Syria or Armenia; the Euphrates may be taken somewhat loosely. Conf. *Sat.* iii. 62.

molles in aure fenestrae, "effeminate holes in his ear." The Orientals usually wore earrings.

105. **quinque tabernae,** all the retail trade at Rome was in the hands of freedmen.

106. **quadringenta parant,** *i.e.* *sestertia.* 400,000 sesterces was the *census equester*, which entitled its possessor to all the insignia and privileges of that body. The senatorial census was *decies sestertium*, 1,000,000 sesterces. Conf. *Sat.* iii. 155.

purpura maior, *i.e.* the *latus clavus* or broad purple stripe down the breast of the tunic worn by senators and their sons.

108. **conductas,** hired. See *Sat.* iii. 31.

Corvinus, taken as a type of the nobility, as in *Sat.* viii. 5. The Corvini were descended from M. Valerius Corvus, about whom Livy tells the story of the raven, Liv. vii. 26. A M. Messala Corvinus was granted by Claudius a pension of 500,000 sesterces, "quibus paupertatem innoxiam sustentaret," Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 34.

109. **Pallante.** Pallas was a freedman of the Emperor Claudius, a brother of the Felix mentioned in the Acts. He is said by Tacitus to have possessed 300,000,000 sesterces. Joined in a league with Messalina, he disposed at pleasure of offices, provincial governorships, and civic privileges. The senate voted him the *praetoria insignia*, and publicly thanked him for deigning to serve the Emperor. See Plin. *Ep.* vii. 29.

Licinis. For the plural, see note on line 52. Licinus was originally a Gallic slave; he then became freedman of Augustus, under whom he was procurator of Gaul, where he became notorious for his extortion and wealth. See *Sat.* xiv. 306. The freedmen of the imperial household were under many emperors, especially Claudius and Nero, the most influential men at Rome.

110. **sacro ne cedat honori,** *i.e.* the tribunate. Conf. the

epithet "sacrosanctus" usually applied to it; and see Pliny, *Ep.* i. 23, who says of it, "cui loco cedere omnes oporteret."

111. **pedibus qui venerat albis.** For some purpose, which has not been satisfactorily explained, slaves exposed for sale on the *catasta* had their feet chalked over, Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 199. Conf. Tibull. ii. 2, 59, "quem saepe coegit barbara gypsatos ferre catasta pedes."

113. **Pecunia**, derived from *pecus*, a flock. Because in early times flocks were the main kind of wealth, *pecunia* came to stand for money in general. Conf. Horace's "regina Pecunia," *Ep.* i. 6, 36, and "obscaena Pecunia," Juv. *Sat.* vi. 298.

templo, connected with root of τέμνω; properly a space marked or cut out for purposes of augury.

115. **Pax**, etc. Notice how different the Roman religion was from the Greek. The latter was purely concrete, and its deities were taken from the forces and phenomena of nature. The former was abstract, except where it copied from the Greeks, and made divinities out of such abstract ideas and qualities as Virtue, Hope, Faith, etc. Vespasian dedicated a temple to Pax; while Q. Maximus, in the Ligurian War, 238 B.C., had built one to Virtus. L. Postumius dedicated one to Victory in 294 B.C.

116. **quaeque salutato**, etc. The reference is to the fact that storks had built their nest in the temple of Concord, and used to twitter as worshippers entered the temple (*salutato nido*). The bird is identified with Concordia, while the temple itself is described as its nest. There can be no doubt that the idea was suggested by Ovid's line, *Met.* vi. 97, "ipsa sibi plaudat crepitante ciconia rostro."

117. **summus honor**, *i.e.* the consul. Conf. Mart. x. 10, 1, "cum tu laurigeris annum qui fascibus intras, mane salutator limina mille teras."

118. **rationibus**, to his income. Conf. vi. 511, "gravis est rationibus."

119. **quid facient comites.** Conf. Mart. x. 10, "Hic ego quid faciam? quid nobis Paule relinquis? Qui de plebe Numae densaque turba sumus?"

calceus, the boot ordinarily worn with the *toga*. See note on line 96. Conf. Cic. *Phil.* ii. § 76, where he contrasts his own return to Rome, "cum calceis et toga," with Antony's, who wore the *lacerna* and Gallic shoes. See also Plin. *Ep.* vii. 3, "quousque calcei nusquam, toga feriata?" The *calceus* covered the foot entirely, while the *soleae* were mere sandals.

120. **Densissima . . . lectica**, litters in crowds; conf. *plurima rosa, densa oliva*, xiv. 144; *multo delatore*, iv. 47, etc.

centum quadrantes, the usual amount of the *sportula*. Conf. Mart. iii. 14, "Centum miselli iam valete quadrantes," and x. 70, 14.

122. **circumducitur**, because the *sportula* had to be called for at several houses. Conf. *Sat.* v. 21.

123. **nota iam callidus arte**, "skilful in a trick long since familiar."

124. **clausam**, with the curtains closely drawn.

126. **profer, Galla, caput.** I have followed Prof. Mayor in assigning these words to the husband rather than to the *dispensator*.

127. **pulchro**, ironical. For the order of events in the Roman day, see Mart. iv. 8. 1, *seq.*—

"Prima salutantes atque altera detinet hora:
Exercet raucos tertia causidicos:
In quintam varios extendit Roma labores:
Sexta quies lassis: septima finis erit."

128. **sportula.** Both Prof. Mayor and Mr. Macleane take this to mean the actual receipt of the *sportula*, which is generally described as taking place in the afternoon. *sportula* here may possibly = the *salutatio* by which the *sportula* was earned.

forum, iurisque peritus Apollo. This was the Forum Augusti, built because the Forum Romanum and the Forum Iulium were insufficient for the amount of business. There was in this *forum* an ivory statue of Apollo, who, from always listening to the legal business, is called *iuris peritus*. So Martial (ii. 64, 8) says of the statue of Marsyas in the Forum Romanum, "ipse potest fieri Marsya causidicus." Conf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 120.

129. **triumphales** (*statuae*), statues of the great Roman generals set up in this *forum* by Augustus. See Suet. *Aug.* 31.

130. **Aegyptius atque Arabarches**, not two persons, but one. Arabarches was properly the title of the ἐπιστράτηγος of Thebais, one of the divisions of Egypt, as the district from the Nile to the Red Sea was called Arabia. No doubt Tiberius Alexander is here meant, who was praefect of Egypt in 66 A.D., and was honoured with a triumphal statue probably by Vespasian, whose cause he had assisted in Egypt against Vitellius. It was really the father of this man who was Arabarches, but Juvenal perhaps intentionally confuses the two.

135. **Optima silvarum**, the choicest dainties of, etc.

136. **rex**, the patron.

vacuis toris = *secreto*, line 94.

137. **tot pulchris et latis orbibus.** See note on line 75. These citrus-wood tables sometimes cost as much as 1,000,000 sesterces. In earlier times the *triclinia* were arranged round three sides of a square table, but when these round tables were introduced the couches were made semicircular, and hence called *sigmata*. The tables had only one leg, usually of ivory. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 122. They were usually covered with cloths of coarse linen (*gausape*), Mart. xiv. 138.

138. **una . . . mensa,** "at a single course." Conf. *prima, secunda mensa;* or "at a single table," *i.e.* with only a few guests, nine of whom could sit at one table.

139. **Nullus iam parasitus erit,** "there will soon be no such thing as a parasite," *i.e.* if this habit of dining alone continues. The parasite or *umbra* (conf. Grk. σκία) accompanied his patron to dinner at the houses of his friends, where he was expected to laugh at and lead up to his jokes. Each guest might as a matter of course bring one with him. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 5, 28, "locus est et pluribus umbris; . . . tu, quotus esse velis, rescribe," *i.e.* say how many *umbrae* you will bring.

140. **luxuriae sordes,** luxury and stinginess combined. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* ii. 6, 7, "istam luxuriae et sordium novam societatem."

142. **praesens,** ready at hand.

143. **crudum,** undigested. The word is sometimes used in an active sense, and means dyspeptic. See Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, 49. *P.* has the reading "crudus" here. I have, however, followed Bücheler in retaining "crudum."

pavonem. Macrobius tells us that Q. Hortensius first had peacocks served at his table; that the eggs cost five *denarii* each, and the peacocks themselves fifty. Conf. Cic. *ad fam.* 9, 20.

144. **intestata senectus.** The death is so sudden that there is no time to make a will. In case of intestacy, by Roman law all the estate went in a certain order to the natural heirs of the deceased, lapsing, in want of these, to the *aerarium*, or later to the *fiscus;* so that mere personal friends received no legacies. It was usual to put off the will as late as possible in order to induce the legacy-hunters to keep up their flatteries and attentions.

145. **fabula** = social gossip. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* viii. 18, 11, "sunt omnes fabulae Tullus."

146. **iratis,** because they had received no legacies owing to there having been no will. The *iratis amicis* of course is dative of the agent after *plaudendum.*

147. **quod . . . addat posteritas.** Subjunctive of consequence, implied in "quod."

149. **in praecipiti,** "at its highest point"; if it proceeds at all it must go down. Conf. *Sat.* x. 107 for *praeceps* used as a subst.

Utere velis. The satirist, with so much material ready at hand, is compared to a sailor with a favourable wind.

150. **forsitan** = *fors sit an*, there may be a chance whether, so "perhaps," "peradventure." *Sit* is sometimes omitted, and we find *forsan*, sometimes *fors*, alone. In Silver Latin it often takes an indic. Conf. xii. 125, xiv. 295.

151. **illa priorum scribendi . . . simplicitas.** For the double genitive, conf. Herod. vi. 2, *τῶν Ἰώνων τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοῦ πολέμου.* He refers, as the next lines show, especially to the time of Lucilius, and it was not until after the time of Augustus that this liberty of speech (*παῤῥησία*) was seriously interfered with.

153. **simplicitas, cuius non audeo dicere nomen?** Another reading is to put inverted commas before "cuius" and after "nomen," making this clause and the next line two questions, supposed to be asked by Lucilius. "Whose name do I not dare to mention?" etc. On the whole I prefer to take the phrase closely with *simplicitas*, and then *cuius nomen* will be "the real name of which (*i.e. libertas*) I do not dare to utter in these evil times." Conf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 282, "sed in vitium libertas excidit." Conf. Tac. *Agric.* 3. Juvenal here, as often, writes from the point of view of Domitian's time.

154. **Quid refert.** Notice the quantity of *re.* The phrase was originally *rei fert*, *i.e.* "it bears on the matter on hand"; *rĕfero*, I bring back, is quite a different word.

ignoscat Mucius an non? P. Mucius Scaevola (Cons. 133 B.C.), a famous *iuris consultus*, was hostile to Scipio Africanus, the patron of Lucilius, who accordingly reflected on him in his *Satires*,—in those days a safe enough thing to do.

155. **Pone Tigellinum,** expose Tigellinus. Sophonius Tigellinus was an Agrigentine by birth; he became the friend and corrupter of the youthful Nero, in all the chief crimes of whose reign he participated. From *praefectus vigilum* he was promoted, after the death of Burrus, to be *praefectus praetorio.* After Nero's death he was protected by Galba, but put to death by Otho. For a sketch of his career and character, see Tac. *Hist.* i. 72. He is here named by Juvenal as a representative of the imperial favourites.

taeda lucebis in illa. The imperative followed by a future either with or without *et*, is not an uncommon variation from the regular conditional sentence.

The reference in these lines is no doubt to the cruelties inflicted by Nero and Tigellinus on the Christians. They were fastened to stakes fixed in the sand, smeared over with pitch, and then burned alive, as Tacitus says (*Ann.* xv. 44), "in usum nocturni luminis." *taeda* here is probably the "tunica molesta" or pitched shirt mentioned in *Sat.* viii. 235.

156. **fixo pectore**, either by the "uncus" or hook by which criminals were led to punishment, or by a sword fixed under the throat to keep the head erect.

157. **et latum media sulcum deducit arena.** A very difficult line. Perhaps Prof. Mayor's is the most satisfactory explanation, who supplies *quae* (*i.e. taeda*) from the "qua" of l. 156 as the subject of "deducit," *i.e.* the pitch melts, and in dropping makes a furrow in the sand. Another reading is "deducis," which would have to be taken in a future sense, certainly an awkward expression after "lucebis"; while the meaning "you will draw a furrow" (*i.e.* by being dragged to the stake) would make *lucebis* a *ὕστερον πρότερον*.

159. **pensilibus plumis**, on a feather bed borne (lit. hanging) in the air, *i.e.* in a luxurious *lectica.*

161. **accusator erit, qui**, etc., "whoever shall whisper the word 'That is he,' will be suspected as an accuser." That is, the man's guilty conscience will imagine an accusation in every whisper.

162. **licet—committas**, you may safely match against one another. *licet* takes either an infin. or a subj. with *ut* understood.

163. **nulli gravis est percussus Achilles**, the death of Achilles is a perilous subject to no one.

164. **multum quaesitus Hylas**, the page of Hercules, who on the Argonautic expedition was sent to fetch water at a river, and was carried off by the nymphs of the spring (*urnam secutus*). Conf. Verg. *Ecl.* vi. 43, "nautae quo fonte relictum clamâssent, ut litus Hyla, Hyla, omne sonaret."

165. **Lucilius ardens.** See note on line 20.

166. **frigida mens . . . sudant praecordia** point to the physical effects of terror on an evil conscience. Conf. xiii. 220.

168. **Inde irae.** Conf. Terence's proverbial expression, "hinc illae lacrimae."

169. **ante tubas**, before the trumpet sounds to battle.

galeatum sero duelli paenitet, it is too late for a man who has actually put on his helmet to shrink from the fight. Soldiers on the march carried their helmets by a strap, as we see on the Columna Traiana at Rome. Conf. Caes. *B. G.* ii. 21.

duelli, the archaic form of *bellum*, which is derived from *duo*, and properly meant a fight between two—a meaning, however, which it soon lost. So *perduellio* means making war in one's country, and so high treason. For the interchange of *du* and *b*, conf. *duo* and *bis*, and *duonus*, an archaic form of *bonus*.

171. **quorum Flaminia**, etc. For the Flaminian Road see line 61. The Via Latina led south to Beneventum, where it joined the Appia Via. All the chief roads from the city were lined with tombs, as the Twelve Tables forbade corpses to be burnt or buried within the walls. Conf. Cic. *Tusc.* i. 7, "An tu egressus porta Capena cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos?" Wherever Juvenal departs from the rule here laid down and satirises living persons, they are always either exiles or fallen from power, like Marius Priscus and Crispinus, or men of insignificant position, like Cordus or Machaera, or perhaps Cluvienus.

SATIRE III

1. **Quamvis**, with an adjective or partic., means "however much"; with a verb, "although."

2. **vacuis . . . Cumis**, unfrequented Cumae. Cumae was not a place of fashionable resort like Baiae. It had once been important; and it was indeed from the Greek colonists at Cumae that the Romans had originally derived their alphabet. It now, however, shared the general depopulation of Italy. Conf. "vacuum Tibur," Hor. *Ep.* i. 7, 45, and *Sat.* x. 102.

3. **destinet**, the subj. after *quod*, because it is virtually oblique oration.

unum = one at least.

Sibyllae. The cave of the Sibyl was said to be near Cumae. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 18, calls her "Cumaea Sibylla."

4. **Ianua Baiarum est**, "it is the approach to Baiae." A traveller proceeding along the coast by Sinuessa would get to Cumae just before passing across the headland of Misenum into the Sinus Cumanus in which Baiae was situated. For a description of the life at Baiae, see Becker's *Gallus*, pp. 85-97.

amoeni secessus, genitive of definition after *litus*. Conf. *virtus iustitiae*. This part of the coast, and especially the Sinus Cumanus, was a favourite resort. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 1, 83.

5. **Prochytam**, a desolate island near Cape Misenum.

praepono, for quantity of final *o*, see note on *Sat.* i. 79.

Suburae, a low and noisy *vicus* or quarter of the city, leading to the Forum along a valley between the Viminal and Esquiline hills. Juvenal appears from Mart. xii. 15 to have known it well. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 51.

7. **incendia, lapsus tectorum.** Land was dear at Rome, and accordingly the *insulae*, or "blocks of buildings," were raised to a great height. Naturally they often fell in; while, as much wood was used in their construction, and the streets were narrow, fires were often very destructive. The fire in Nero's reign lasted six days, wholly destroyed three out of the fourteen quarters of the city, and half-ruined seven more. There was also a disastrous fire under Titus. Augustus established *cohortes vigilum* distributed among the several *regiones* of the city, whose special duty it was to prevent and extinguish fires.

9. **Augusto recitantes mense poetas.** For the recitations, see note on *Sat.* i. 4. Prof. Mayor has an exhaustive note on the subject. Pollio was the first to introduce the custom at Rome, and among others the following authors recited their own works—Vergil, Horace (*Sat.* i. 4, 73), Silius Italicus (Plin. *Ep.* iii. 7, 5), Statius (*Silv.* vii. 83), Martial (vii. 29, 6), Pliny (*Ep.* v. 3). August was the unhealthiest month at Rome. All who could do so got away. Horace, in a letter to Maecenas, excuses himself for remaining in the country *totum Sextilem*, as he was *aegrotare timens.* These recitations, though irksome to friends and freedmen, were not without use, as the expected criticisms of the audience would ensure a certain amount of care and pains in the writers. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* i. 13.

10. **dum tota domus.** *domus* is here the *familia*, the "household slaves," of whom the poor Umbricius had only a few. Carriages were not allowed in the streets of Rome, and therefore waited outside the gates. The *reda* was a four-wheeled carriage, usually employed for long journeys. Milo was travelling in one when he met Clodius, Cic. *pro Mil.* 10, 20.

11. **veteres arcus madidamque Capenam.** The arches were those of the Aqua Marcia, which passed over the Porta Capena, on the Appia Via, which is hence called *madida.* Conf. Mart. iii. 47, 1. "Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta."

12. **Numa constituebat amicae.** Livy, i. 19, says of Numa, "simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse." It was Numa who organised the religious system at Rome; he is said to have instituted the Pontiffs, Augurs, and Vestal Virgins.

13. **nemus.** *lucus* is generally the word for a "sacred grove." Conf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 441, "Lucus in urbe fuit media."

locantur Iudaeis, "are let out to Jews." Jews were expelled from Rome by an edict of Domitian, but were allowed to rent

this valley, where they probably had their *proseuchae*. See note on line 296.

14. **cophinus faenumque**, the basket to keep their provisions free from pollution; the hay to lie upon. Conf. *Sat.* vi. 542, "cophino faenoque relicto arcanam Iudaea tremens mendicat in aurem."

eiectis . . . Camenis, *i.e.* by these Jewish intruders.

20. **ingenuum**, "natural." Lucretius, i. 230, has *ingenui fontes*.

23. **atque eadem cras deteret exiguis aliquid**, "while to-morrow it will lose (lit. 'wear away') some portion of the small remainder." Bergmüller takes "urbs" instead of "res" as agreeing with "eadem." Others read "adeo," making "cras" the subject.

25. **ubi Daedalus exuit alas**, *i.e.* at Cumae. When Daedalus left Crete he flew towards the north, and alighted at Cumae. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 17, "Chalcidicaque levis tandem super adstitit arce." Cumae was a colony from Chalcis in Euboea.

27. **dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat**, "while Lachesis has something yet to spin." The three Parcae—Lachesis, Clotho, and Atropos—had properly separate functions. Lachesis (λάχος, a lot) allotted the course and length of a man's life at his birth, Clotho spun it while he lived, and Atropos cut the web when he died. But they are sometimes spoken of as all three spinning, as in Hor. *Od.* ii. 3, 15, "Dum res et aetas et sororum fila trium patiuntur atra."

28. **bacillo**, dimin. from *baculus*, as *tigillum* from *tignum*, and *popellus* from *populus*.

29. **Artorius . . . et Catulus**, some obscure swindlers.

31. **quis facile est**, "who are quite ready to. . . ."

aedem conducere, "to take on contract the repairing of a temple." Formerly the *aediles* had had the superintendence of public buildings, etc., but under the empire *curatores*, appointed by the emperor, divided the various departments among them. They were said *locare*, the contractors (*redemptores*) *conducere*.

flumina. The Tiber had frequently to be dredged and embanked, owing to the alluvial soil which it deposited.

portus, the construction of harbours.

32. **siccandam eluviem**, the clearing out of the Cloacae, usually performed by convicts, and contracted for by the lowest class of *redemptores*. Conf. Plin. *ad Trai.* 41.

portandum ad busta cadaver. This refers, of course, to public funerals paid for by the state, and given in contract to

some of the *libitinarii*, or undertakers. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 8, 8. The *busta* were places where the bodies were burnt, though the word is often applied to tombs in general.

33. **et praebere caput**, etc. Either (1) to give up their civic *status* by a sale under the praetor's spear; or (2) to give up their persons; or (3) to offer a slave for sale, *i.e.* to act as a *praeco* or *mango* (slave-dealer). Probably (3) is right.

sub hasta. In public sales (*sectiones*) a spear was fixed up in the Forum, probably as a survival of the custom at military sales of booty in the camp. It is here called *domina*, because it conferred *dominium* on the purchaser. Conf. Cic. *Off.* ii. 23, 83. Both *praecones* and *libitinarii* were, by the *lex Iulia municipalis*, ineligible to municipal offices.

34. **cornicines**, etc., horn-blowers at the gladiatorial shows in the provincial towns (*municipia*) of Italy.

35. **notaeque . . . buccae**, "and their puffed cheeks were familiar in every town." Conf. *Sat.* xi. 34.

36. **munera nunc edunt**, "now they give gladiatorial shows themselves." *munera* were properly the last services done to a corpse. Then, when it became customary to have gladiatorial combats at funerals,—a custom derived from Etruria, and first practised in Rome in 261 B.C.,—the word was applied to these shows. Gradually, but not entirely till the end of the Republic, this connection with funeral solemnities was lost sight of. So Tertullian says, *de Spect.* 12, "(transisse) hoc genus editionis ab honoribus mortuorum ad honores viventium." Under the Empire these gladiatorial shows gained very great popularity. Those who provided them (*editores*) did so either (1) as a speculation for the sake of gain, or (2) as an act of public munificence, or (3) because they were required to do so by law. Instances of the last class were the quaestors at Rome since the time of Claudius (see Suet. *Claud.* 21, and *Dom.* 4), and the "sacerdotes Romae et Augusti" in the provinces (see *Ephem. Epigr.* vii. 404, etc.) Instances of the second class were the emperors themselves, who found this one of the most efficacious means of conciliating the "plebs urbana," and magistrates in the municipal towns, who frequently signalised their office by shows of this kind. Juvenal is evidently referring here to the first class of men, who give gladiatorial shows as a speculation. Tacitus (*Ann.* iv. 62) mentions a man who gave a "spectaculum gladiatorum" at Fidenae, and failed to make the amphitheatre secure, "ut qui non abundantia pecuniae nec municipali ambitione, sed in sordidam mercedem id negotium quaesivisset." The result was a disaster, and in consequence, "cautum in posterum senatus consulto ne quis gladiatorium munus ederet, cui minor quadrin-

gentorum milium res." Shows of this speculative kind were called "munera assiforana" (see an inscription found in Spain, *Ephem. Epigr.* vii. 390), because the *editor*, as Mommsen says, "per oppidorum fora asses a spectatoribus pro locis exegit." So Suetonius (*Vitell.* 12) speaks of a "lanista circumforaneus," with which expression compare Juvenal's "municipalis arenae perpetui comites." Martial speaks of a cobbler at Bononia and a dyer at Mutina who gave *munera* (iii. 59).

verso pollice, "with the thumb turned upwards," the sign for giving the fatal blow to the fallen gladiator. Turning the thumb down was the sign for sparing his life.

vulgus quem iubet. The editor of the show always took his cue from the crowd, whether to have the gladiator spared or despatched. Conf. Mart. iii. 99.

37. **populariter**, "to win popularity."

inde reversi, *i.e.* to their ignominious trades again.

42. **motus astrorum ignoro**, "I am ignorant of astrology," a science to which the Romans were always much inclined. The *Chaldaei* or astrologers, though continually expelled from Rome by the emperors, as continually managed to return. They were often consulted by young spendthrifts, anxious to know when their fathers would die and leave them the property. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 248.

44. **ranarum viscera numquam inspexi.** Possibly as an *haruspex.* But I cannot help thinking that there may be an allusion to poison extracted from toads. See *Sat.* i. 70, but also *Sat.* vi. 550, "Armenius vel Commagenus haruspex pectora pullorum rimabitur, exta catelli."

45. **quae mittit**, "his presents."

46. **quae mandat**, "his messages."

47. **nulli comes exeo**; here, as often, *comes* means one of the personal attendants of a provincial governor, who would of course share the illegal gains of his principal. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 127.

48. **exstinctae . . . dextrae**, genitive of quality, coupled with the adj. *mancus*, as in xi. 96, "nudo latere et parvis."

49. **nisi conscius.** Conf. Mart. vi. 50, "Vis fieri dives, Bithynice, conscius esto."

53. **Verri**, the propraetor of Sicily (73-70 B.C.), against whom Cicero made his famous speech; here an example of extortionate governors generally. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 106. Juvenal's custom is to take, as examples of certain crimes, either men already dead, as Verres, Tigellinus, Crispinus, etc.; or men in exile or other-

wise harmless, as Marius Priscus. Conf. *Sat.* ii. 26, "Si fur displiceat Verri, homicida Miloni."

quo vult; the subject of *vult* is of course not Verres, but his abettor.

54. **Tanti tibi non sit**, "let it not be of so much value in your eyes"; *non* is occasionally, though rarely, used for *ne*; conf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 460, "non sit qui tollere possit," and infr. *Sat.* xvi. 28, "non sollicitemus amicos."

55. **arena Tagi.** The Tagus, like the Pactolus (see Hor. *Epod.* xv. 20), was supposed to roll down gold amid its sand. See *Sat.* xiv. 299.

56. **ponenda**, "which must again be laid down."

59. **properabo**, in order that he may get over the *pudor* as soon as possible.

61. **Graecam urbem**, "a Greek Rome." The city was crowded with Greek parasites, actors, teachers, and athletes.

quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei? "and yet how small a fraction of our dregs are Achaeans," *i.e.* numerous as the Greeks were, they were few compared with the motley throng of Orientals. *Quota portio* is lit. "the what-th part?" the answer to it is an ordinal number; and the higher the ordinal, the smaller, of course, is the fraction. Conf. "Quota hora est?" "What o'clock is it?" Ans. "Tertia, quarta," etc.; and Hor. *Ep.* i. 5, 30, "Tu quotus esse velis rescribe," "Write back to say how many fellow-guests you wish to have." If the answer were "quartus," there would be three besides himself. Conf. the Greek expression, *τρίτος αὐτός* = with two others. See *Sat.* xiii. 157, "Haec quota pars scelerum?"

From the time when Rome was brought into connection with Greece and the East, the number of foreigners in the city gradually increased. But in earlier times these foreigners had consisted for the most part of literary men, artists, or philosophers, who were naturally attracted by the superior civilisation and wealth of Rome. They neither came in such numbers, however, nor was their importance so great, as to modify Roman character, or to interfere with the careers of Roman citizens. Under the Empire this was entirely changed. As luxury increased, the instruments of luxury increased too. Foreign actors, dancers, astrologers, rhetoricians, flocked to Rome, ingratiated themselves with the rich, and completely supplanted the less versatile Romans and Italians. But there was another class of upstarts hardly less numerous, and often more dangerous, than these. The slave-market was continually pouring more and more slaves into Rome, and of these an increasing number ingratiated themselves with their masters, received manumission, and swelled the numbers of the *libertini*. Especially was this the case in

the vast *familia* of the Caesars themselves; and we find in the freedmen of the palace—men like Pallas, Narcissus, and Epaphroditus—the most significant feature of the new régime, under which the rule of the bedchamber was superseding that of the senate.

62. Conf. *Sat.* vi. 295, "hinc fluxit ad istos et Sybaris colles, hinc et Rhodos et Miletos." The number of slaves from Syria was very large. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44.

67. **Rusticus ille tuus**, etc. "That rustic people of thine, O Romulus, now assumes the Greek shoes," etc. For the apostrophe to Romulus, conf. *Sat.* ii. 126, "O pater urbis, unde nefas tantum Latiis pastoribus?"

sumit trechedipna, "puts on his run-to-dinner shoes." *Trechedipna* (τρέχω δεῖπνον) is neuter plural, and probably refers to the shoes worn by Greek parasites (see note on *Sat.* i. 139), whom the Romans were now imitating. Plutarch, as Prof. Mayor points out, uses τρεχέδειπνος as a name for a parasite in *Sympos.* viii. 6, 1.

68. **et ceromatico fert niceteria collo**, "and wears prizes of victory on his wax-anointed neck," *i.e.* he practises the gymnastic contests usual among the Greeks. The *ceroma* was a mixture of wax, oil, and clay, used by athletes. Greek words are used intentionally. Participation in the Greek gymnastic contests was long considered unbecoming by men who had no hesitation in appearing in the arena and the circus. Conf. *Sat.* iv 246, "femineum ceroma."

69. **Hic . . . hic.** This has no reference to the *rusticus ille tuus.* Lines 67 and 68 relate to Romans who imitate Greek ways; line 69 to Greek slaves, brought from various parts, and rising to a position of importance in Rome.

Sicyone, in Argolis; **Amydon** was in Macedonia.

70. **Andros** and **Samos**, in the Aegean; **Tralles** and **Alabanda**, in Caria.

71. **Esquilias.** Esquiliae or Mons Esquilinus was a hill on the east side of Rome, separated from the Collis Viminalis, on the north, by a continuation of the Via Tiburtina, which, passing along to the low ground to the west, led to the Subura; see *Sat.* iii. line 5. Both the Esquiline and the Viminal hills were the quarters of the better classes, into whose families those Greek slaves insinuated themselves. See *Sat.* v. 78, and xi. 50.

dictum . . . a vimine. The Viminal was said to be so called from the twigs which sprang up round the altar of Jupiter placed there.

72. **viscera.** Prof. Mayor translates, "bosom friends."

73. **sermo promptus et Isaeo torrentior.** Isaeus is not the Athenian orator, but a well-known rhetorician of Juvenal's own time, who came to Rome in 97 A.D. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* ii. 3, "Magna Isaeum fama praecesserat, maior inventus est. Summa est facultas, copia, ubertas," etc. For the construction *Isaeo torrentior* instead of *Isaei sermone*, conf. *κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὅμοιαι*, "hair like that of the Graces." Conf. also "Dis aequa potestas," *Sat.* iv. 71, and vii. 72.

75. **quem vis hominem,** "any character you like."

76. **grammaticus, rhetor.** For these two professions, see notes on *Sat.* i. 15 and 16.

aliptes, probably = *iatraliptes*, a kind of medical rubber. Conf. Plin. *ad Trai.* 5.

schoenobates. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 265.

77. **magus.** The Magi were the same as the Astrologi, Mathematici, and Chaldaei, mentioned so often in Tacitus and other writers of the time.

78. **Graeculus,** contemptuous use of the diminutive. So Trajan says to Pliny (*Ep. ad Trai.* 40), "gymnasiis indulgent Graeculi." Hadrian was himself nicknamed "Graeculus." Spart. *vit. Hadr.* 1, 5.

iusseris, "if you shall have bidden him." Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 31, "sineret dolor," did grief allow; and *Sat.* vi. 526, "si candida iusserit Io, ibit ad Aegypti finem."

79. **Sarmata.** The Sarmatians, or Sauromatae, lived between the Borysthenes and Tanais in Scythia. For the nom. Sarmata, representing Σαρμάτης, conf. *poeta*, *ποιητής*, *nauta*, *ναύτης*, and *ἱππότα*, the Aeolic form of *ἱππότης*, found in Homer.

80. **qui sumpsit pinnas,** conf. line 25. Daedalus was an Athenian.

81. **conchylia** (*κογχύλιον*), lit. a kind of shell-fish; then the purple dye extracted from it; and lastly, purple robes. Conf. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 27, "conchyliata peristromata." Conf. *Sat.* viii. 101.

me, than I, the faithful client.

84. **caelum hausit,** breathed in the air. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* x. 899.

85. **Aventini.** The Mons Aventinus is the most southerly of the seven hills, immediately south of the Circus Maximus.

bacca, the olive-berry.

86. **adulandi . . . prudentissima,** objective genitive. See *Latin Primer*, § 132.

88. **cervicibus.** The word is always used in the plural by the writers of the Golden Age.

89. **Herculis, Antaeum,** etc. Juvenal probably had in his mind some well-known statue in which Hercules was represented in this position. Antaeus, a famous wrestler, son of Neptunus and Terra; when lifted from the earth, his mother, he lost his strength.

90. **qua deterius nec ille . . . marito,** "than which not even the cock by whom the hen is pecked makes a more unpleasant sound." *marito* is attracted out of the nom. through being inside the relative clause; conf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 10, 16; *nec* = οὐδέ, not even. Notice the omission of the prep. *a* before *quo*, because the cock is an irrational being. Possibly there may be an allusion to Nero's voice, which was weak and cracked, although he thought it divine.

92. **sed illis creditur,** they do it in a way to be believed.

93. **An melior,** etc., "or is he better, when as an actor," etc., *i.e.* it is hard to say whether the Greek is a better actor on the stage, or in real life. Notice the difference between *comoedus* and *comicus.*

agit, acts the part of.

Dorida. Doris is probably here meant to represent any woman of the lower classes.

Thaida, uxorem, Dorida, represent the three stock female parts of the *palliatae*, viz. courtesan, matron, servant.

nullo cultam palliolo, without her outer garment.

95. **nempe,** it is true that.

98. **Antiochus, Stratocles,** and **Demetrius** were Greek actors at Rome, of whom Quintilian, xi. 3, says that Demetrius took the parts of gods, and good old men and matrons; Stratocles those of hot-tempered old fathers, abandoned slaves, and parasites.

illic, in Greece; wonderful as they seem to us, there are many as good in Greece.

100. **natio comoeda est,** it is a nation of actors.

maiore cachinno concutitur, he is convulsed with still more violent laughter.

102. **nec dolet,** without real grief.

brumae, mid-winter; by syncope from *brevima;* lit. the shortest day.

103. **endromidem,** a thick woollen cloak, properly worn by runners after their exercise. Notice the exaggeration in each case, *maiore*, *endromydem*, *sudat.* Martial has an epigram (iv.

19) on the *endromys*, in which he calls it the work "Sequanicae textricis," of a Gallic weaver.

114. **transi gymnasia**, "pass over the evils of the gymnasia," which have been partly alluded to in lines 67 and 68. By the better classes at Rome the Greek gymnastics were always disliked. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* iv. 22, who describes a discussion before Trajan as to whether Greek games shall be allowed at Vienna, "Placuit agona tolli qui mores Viennensium infecerat ut noster hic (*i.e.* the *agon Capitolinus*) omnium." Nero had first established Greek contests in Rome, and Domitian instituted the quinquennial *agon Capitolinus*, which included gymnastic as well as literary and musical contests.

115. **audi facinus maioris abollae**, "listen to a crime belonging to a severer garb." The scholiast takes this as a proverbial expression, *maioris togae*, i.e. *potioris sceleris*. It is better to take it in close reference to the word *Stoicus* in the next line. The *abolla* was worn over the *toga* by senators (*Sat.* iv. 76), soldiers, kings, and philosophers. The context here, esp. *gymnasia* and *Stoicus*, limits it to the last of these. Conf. Mart. viii. 48.

116. **Stoicus occidit Baream.** Tacitus gives the story, *Ann.* xvi. 32, *Hist.* iv. 10. P. Egnatius Celer, a Stoic philosopher, accused his pupil, Barea Soranus, and his daughter, of treason against Nero. They escaped execution by suicide.

delator. The *delatores* were first encouraged by Tiberius (24 A.D.) Tacitus says, *Ann.* iv. 30, they were "genus hominum publico exitio repertum." Under Domitian the system of espionage was perhaps at its worst. For famous informers see *Sat.* i. 33 *seq.*, and note *ad loc.*

117. **ripa**, of the river Cydnus, on which Tarsus was built.

118. **ad quam Gorgonei . . . caballi.** Pegasus, the winged horse, sprang from the blood of Medusa, the Gorgon slain by Perseus. One of its hoofs (ταρσός)—not, as Juvenal says, a feather—is said to have fallen and given its name to Tarsus. Egnatius was born at Berytus, and educated at Tarsus, where there was a famous philosophic school.

120. **Protogenes**, etc., Greek flatterers.

124. **summoveor**; *summoveo* was the word used of the *lictor* clearing the crowd.

perierunt; perfect of instantaneous action, "are forgotten in a moment."

125. **iactura**, loss; lit. throwing overboard of goods in a storm. Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 8.

126. **officium**, the duty of friend to friend, or client to patron. Pliny, *Ep.* i. 9, 2, has the phrase "officium togae."

127. **hic**, here at Rome.

nocte togatus; see in *Sat.* i. 96, and conf. Mart. x. 82, "Mane vel e media nocte togatus ero." He also uses the phrase "opera togata."

128. **cum praetor**, etc. The sense is, What chance has a poor man, when a praetor is his rival, for the favour of these rich and childless ladies? Conf. *Sat.* i. 101.

129. **dudum vigilantibus orbis**, they had long since been up expecting their visitors. On the *captatores*, conf. *Sat.* iv. 19, v. 137, xii. 99.

130. **Albinam et Modiam**, rich and childless ladies. Conf. Mart. ix. 100, "Deinde haerere tuo lateri, praecedere sellam, ad vetulas tecum plus minus ire decem."

collega, one of his colleagues, as there were eighteen praetors at this time.

131. **Divitis hic servo**, etc., "here the son of free-born parents gives the wall to a rich man's slave." This is much better than the old reading *servi*, with which *filius* was generally taken. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5, 19, where "tegere latus" is equivalent to being "comes exterior."

quantum in legione tribuni accipiunt, *i.e.* 25,000 sesterces.

137. **Da**, produce if you can.

hospes numinis Idaei. In 205 B.C. the Sibylline books ordered the sacred stone which represented the Phrygian goddess Cybele to be brought to Rome from Pessinus and placed temporarily in the house of the most virtuous citizen. The senate chose P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. Liv. xxix. 11. See also the account given by Herodian, i. 11.

138. **procedat**, let him come forward, *i.e.* as a witness.

qui servavit . . . Minervam. In 241 B.C. L. Caecilius Metellus, while Pontifex Maximus, rescued the statue of Pallas from the burning temple of Vesta; he was blinded by the fire.

141. **quot . . . iugera?** The large estates, so usual at this time, by which the small farmers were ousted, were called *latifundia.* On them the slaves, sometimes numbering thousands, worked in chains, and were herded together in the *ergastula.* See note on *Sat.* viii. 180, and conf. xiv. 305.

142. **paropside**, a small square dish or plate. See Mart. xi. 27, 18. It is used here collectively.

143. **arca.** Conf. *Sat.* i. 90, and the phrase "ex arca solvere" = to pay in cash.

144. **Samothracum . . . aras.** Certain deities, possibly of Phoenician origin, were worshipped in Samothrace, called the

"Cabiri." Their worship was mysterious, and therefore regarded with awe. See Schömann's *Antiquities of Greece*, p. 11.

148. **hic idem**, this same poor man.

lacerna. See note on *Sat.* i. 27.

si toga sordidula, if his *toga* is a little soiled. See note on *Sat.* i. 96.

calceus alter, one of his shoes. See note on *Sat.* i. 119.

153. **inquit**, says the manager or designator of the games. Martial several times mentions Leitus under Domitian. Conf. v. 25, 1-2, "Quadringenta tibi non sunt, Chaerestrate, surge. Leitus ecce venit; sta, fuge, curre, late."

154. **de pulvino surgat equestri.** Roscius Otho, in 67 B.C., had passed a law (*lex Roscia*) that the fourteen front rows in the theatre should be confined to members of the Equestrian order, *i.e.* to those possessed of 400,000 sesterces. Domitian had specially re-enforced the law, Suet. *Dom.* 8. The honourable but poor citizen had to make way for low-born parvenus. Conf. Mart. v. 25, 1; Liv. *Epit.* 99.

155. **legi**, *i.e.* the Roscian law. Conf. Cic. *Phil.* ii. § 44, and *Sat.* xiv. 323.

157. **praeconis.** For the contempt in which *praecones* were held, see note on *Sat.* iii. 33.

158. **pinnirapi.** The word is not found elsewhere. The *pinnirapus* (lit. feather-snatcher) was a gladiator, evidently, as the name implies, opposed to another who wore a crest. Now, we learn from Varro that the gladiator called a Samnite wore a helmet and crest, as well as a large oblong shield and short sword. The Samnite usually fought with the *retiarius*, who is here humorously called *pinnirapus.* He wore only a short tunic; in one hand he held a large net (*rete*), and in the other a trident (*fuscina*). With the net he tried to envelop the head and shoulders of his antagonist, whom he would then pierce with the trident; if he missed his throw, he ran round the amphitheatre, followed by the other, who was hence sometimes called a *secutor.* See note on *Sat.* viii. 200.

lanistae, a trainer of gladiators.

161. **sarcinulis impar**, "no match for the fortune of the bride." Conf. Mart. ii. 11, 8, "Salva est et uxor sarcinaeque," and *Sat.* vi. 146, "Collige sarcinulas."

quis pauper scribitur heres? The poor man would not have the means of paying court and making presents to the rich and childless, as the Roman legacy-hunters were in the habit of doing.

162. **quando in consilio est aedilibus?** It was the custom for the praetors, praefecti, and aediles to invite their friends to their various courts as assessors. This was probably regarded as a compliment rather than the means of making money. The aediles were at this time mere police magistrates, and yet even they would never invite a poor man. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* v. 1, 5.

163. **debuerant olim.** "'Olim' carries the mind back to a past time, and the pluperfect means that at that time the duty had long lain upon them."—Macleane. No doubt an allusion is made to the secession to the Mons Sacer.

tenues. Conf. *Sat.* vii. 80, 145; viii. 120; xiii. 7.

166. **hospitium miserabile,** miserable lodgings. The poor generally lived in the *cenacula* or garrets. In Caesar's time the price of lodgings in Rome was four times as high as in the other Italian towns. See *infra*, lines 224-5.

magno (sc. *pretio*).

167. **frugi cenula.** *frugi* is used as an indeclinable adjective. It is really a dative case from *frux*, and meant "good or fit for fruit" (*frugi aptus*), and so "economical, frugal." Rarely it is found accompanied by an adjective, as "permodestus et bonae frugi." Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 8, 3.

168. **Fictilibus,** things moulded by the hand, and so earthenware. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 108.

169. **Marsos mensamque Sabellam,** representatives of simple country life. The words are imitated from Vergil's "Marsos pubemque Sabellam," *Georg.* ii. 167. Conf. also *Sat.* xiv. 180.

170. **veneto duroque cucullo,** with a coarse sea-green hood. The *cucullus* was worn over the *lacerna.* The sense is that a man who at Rome would disdain to eat off earthenware, when in the country and his country dress would see no disgrace in it. In the cities the men rarely wore anything on the head except for the sake of concealment. Juvenal, in *Sat.* vi. 118, speaks of "nocturnos cucullos." Conf. *Sat.* viii. 145.

172. **nisi mortuus.** Freemen were dressed in the *toga* for burial. Conf. Mart. ix. 58, 8, "pallens toga mortui tribulis." In the country the *tunica* was worn; hence Martial, speaking of country life, says "O tunicata quies." The "toga rara" is spoken of by Martial, x. 47, as one of the things "vitam quae faciunt beatiorem." Conf. *Sat.* xi. 204.

Ipsa dierum festorum . . . maiestas, "even the high solemnity of festal days." Ordinary working days were *fasti dies.* Days on which no work might be done were *nefasti,* or with reference to the *feriae, festi.* In the country holidays might be rare occasions; at Rome the necessity of keeping the

idle mob amused was making the holidays out of all proportion to the working days. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 20, and Liv. vii. 2.

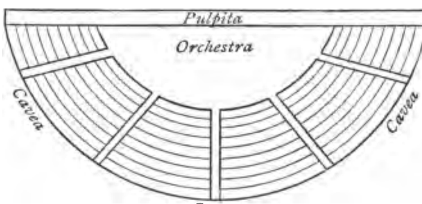
175. **notum exodium,** the familiar farce. It had been often seen before. The *exodium* was an interlude generally acted between the "Atellanae fabulae." So in *Sat.* vi. 71, "exodium Atellanae."

176. **personae pallentis hiatum.** The masks used for these *exodia* were made with a wide gaping mouth to represent a grin. Notice the history of the word *persona*—(1) a mask, (2) the character represented by it, (3) any character or person.

infans, conf. *infantia, supra,* line 84.

177. **aequales habitus,** no distinctions of dress.

178. **orchestram,** the space between the stage and the rows of seats rising in tiers one above the other (*cavea* or *cunei*). The senate (in a country town they would be the *decuriones*) sat in the orchestra; the knights in the fourteen front rows of the *cavea.*



clari velamen honoris, "as a dress for their noble office." This is somewhat ironical.

179. **tunicae.** See *supra,* l. 173, note.

181. **aliena . . . arca,** conf. the expression "aes alienum."

182. **ambitiosa paupertate,** "in a poverty that is yet full of show." *ambitio* (*ambi eo*), a canvassing for office, comes to mean desire for honour or notoriety; *ambitiosus* is connected with this meaning.

Omnia Romae cum pretio, "everything at Rome has to be paid for." When Jugurtha said "Omnia Romae venalia esse," he meant that everything, including honour and good faith, was for sale at Rome.

184. **Quid das,** *i.e.* to the *nomenclator,* who kept the names of those entitled to appear at the *salutatio.*

These lines describe the difficulties and affronts to which clients were subjected by the slaves of the rich patrons. However pressing their business might be, unless they bribed these

slaves, already over-pampered (*culti*), they were put off with the excuses mentioned in line 186.

185. **clauso Veiento labello.** If they were admitted, the chances were that the great man would take no notice of them. Fabricius Veiento, praetor in 55 A.D., was banished by Nero for selling public appointments, Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 50. We find him, however, a successful informer under Domitian. See *Sat.* iv. 113. Plin. *Ep.* iv. 22; ix. 13, 13.

186. **"Ille metit barbam,"** etc. *amati* goes with both *barbam* and *crinem*. The first down shaved from the chin was offered to some god. So, too, when a youth assumed the *toga virilis*, his long hair was cut off and similarly offered. These are reasons given by the doorkeeper for not admitting the client without a fee, who was thus in this dilemma: he must either go away, and so give offence by not being present on this interesting occasion; or he must fee the porter, and so practically buy the *liba* or cakes which were prepared for the visitors. This is why they are called "venalibus," "which can only be got by paying a fee." Others understand it of cakes brought as presents to the favourite slave (*amatus*), and which he sells.

187. **Accipe, et istud fermentum tibi habe.** These words are difficult, but Holyday's rendering, quoted by Prof. Mayor, is excellent. "Take the cakes," says Umbricius, "but add just rage, as leaven to them." This exactly brings out the double meaning of *fermentum* (*fervimentum*).

189. **peculia**, strictly all property owned by the slave belonged to his master. "Quodcunque per servum adquiritur, id domino adquiritur." He was, however, sometimes allowed to keep a few cows of his own (*peculium*, from *pecus*), and then other kinds of property. Enough was often accumulated in this way to purchase his freedom. Trace how our word "peculiar" is connected with this.

190-2. **Praeneste**, in Latium. **Volsinii**, in Etruria. **Gabii**; between Rome and Praeneste. **Tibur**, in Latium on the Anio, a favourite abode of Horace, who calls it "supinum," sloping upwards,—*Od.* iii. 4, 23. Praeneste is possibly a superlative form, from a supposed *Prae-no*, meaning "the city on the highest, prominence." By its form it is, like Caere and Bibracte, neuter, and is so used in Horace, *Od.* iii. 4, 22, and generally both in prose and poetry; but Juvenal and Vergil, *Aen.* viii. 561, make it feminine in the ablative, according to its meaning, as the name of a city.

194. **magna parte sui.** So many buttresses are needed that they form a considerable part of the city. Conf. *Sat.* xii. 110, "partem aliquam belli."

195. **vilicus**, the bailiff or landlord's agent.

veteris, *i.e.* long neglected, and at last just plastered over.

197. **incendia.** Owing to the narrow streets and crowded *insulae*, fires were very common at Rome. The *cohortes vigilum* had the special function of guarding against them.

198. **poscit aquam**, he ought to have had it since the law provided, "ut aquam unusquisque inquilinus in cenaculo habeat," *Dig.* i. 15, 3, § 4.

frivola, his paltry furniture.

199. **Ucalegon** (οὐκ ἀλέγων), taken from Vergil's "iam proximus ardet Ucalegon," *Aen.* ii. 311, to express a neighbour who was probably the tenant of one of the lower stories (*tabulata*) of the *insula.* **tibi**, ethical dative: "you may see." Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 18, 84, "Nam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet."

200. **trepidatur**, the tumult is begun.

201. **quem tegula sola tuetur.** Conf. note on *cenaculum*, *supra* l. 166.

202. **reddunt**, place year by year.

203. **Codro**, any poor man.

Procula minor, too small for a Procula. Procula was not his wife, but some well-known dwarf of the time. Conf. *Sat.* x. 140.

204. **ornamentum abaci**, as an ornament for his sideboard. The *abacus* was usually made of marble, and was used to display costly plate upon. Horace, in a similar passage to this, calls it his "lapis albus," *Sat.* i. 6, 116.

205. **cantharus**, a tankard with handles.

sub eodem marmore Chiron, a figure of Chiron which was probably a support of the marble *abacus.*

206. **iamque**, moreover.

207. **divina . . . carmina**, *i.e.* of Homer or other great poets.

opici, barbarian. The Opici were an ancient race in Italy, from whom the Sabellian races were descended. The word is here used in contrast with *Graecos.* Prof. Mayor has collected a number of passages which show that the word was commonly used in this sense. Mommsen, *Rom. Hist.* vol. i. p. 13, points out that ὀπικός is a term used by early Greek writers to denote all the Latin and Samnite stocks. Conf. *Sat.* vi. 455, "opicae amicae."

212. **Asturici**, some rich man.

horrida mater, "the matrons go dishevelled." Conf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 2, "atrata plebes."

213. **differt vadimonia praetor**, puts off the days for appearing, *i.e.* proclaims a *iustitium.* *vadimonium* was the giving of security to appear in court on a certain day.

215. **qui . . . donet.** Observe the final force of *qui*.

216. **conferat impensas**, to offer his contribution.
signa, statues.

217. **Euphranoris**, a statuary and painter who lived in the time of Philip of Macedon. **Polycliti**, a sculptor who lived during the Peloponnesian War. See note on *Sat.* viii. 103.

218. **phaecasiatorum.** The φαικάσιον was a white shoe worn by priests at Athens and Alexandria, as Appian (*B. C.* v. 11) tells us. The epithet is here transferred from the priests to the gods, after Juvenal's usual mocking style, "white-slippered gods." The busts or statues had been stolen from Greek temples, a practice very common among the provincial governors ever since the destruction of Corinth by Mummius (146 B.C.) The reading of *P.* is "haec Asianorum," which Bücheler adopts. *haec* would in this case seem to be nom. sing., a somewhat awkward and pointless transition from masc. to fem. Weidner, however, takes it as neut. plur., "these here in Rome."

219. **mediamque Minervam**, "and a Minerva in the midst of them." It is more generally, though perhaps less rightly, taken as a bust of Minerva; lit. "down to the middle." Minerva, as the goddess of wisdom, was appropriately placed among books.

220. **argenti**, silver plate.
meliora et plura, *i.e.* than he had before the fire.

221. **orborum lautissimus.** This explains why every one was so anxious to make up his losses. He had no children, and would be able therefore to give rich legacies to his friends. Legacy-hunting was almost a profession at Rome in this period. It was caused by the growing disinclination for marriage among the higher classes, an evil which Augustus had in vain attempted to remedy; but the effect reacted on the cause, as the attentions, flatteries, and presents which the *orbi* received acted as a strong inducement to many to remain unmarried and childless. On both sides it was an organised system of hypocrisy. The legacy-hunter omitted no flattery, however abject; on the other hand, the *orbus* sometimes made his will thirty times in a year, feigned illness in order to stimulate the efforts of his friends, and altogether made a very good thing out of them, though sometimes he might fall a victim to poison.

222. **suspectus tamquam**, a common construction after verbs of accusing or suspecting in Tacitus and other writers of the Silver Age. Conf. Mart. iii. 52, "Empta domus fuerat tibi, Tongiliane, ducentis: abstulit hanc nimium casus in urbe frequens. Collatum est decies. Rogo, non potes ipse videri incendisse tuam, Tongiliane, domum?"

223. **Circensibus.** The regular games were the *ludi Romani*, lasting for 15 days, the *ludi plebeii* for 14, the *Megalesia* for 8, the *ludi Apollinares* for 8, the *Cerealia* for 8, and the *Floralia* for 6. In all these festivals some of the days were devoted to the *ludi Circenses*, *i.e.* chariot-racing, etc., the rest being occupied in *ludi scenici*, or gladiatorial combats. Under the emperors a number of extraordinary festivals were given, so that there were probably few months in any year without them. In *Sat.* x. 81, Juvenal says that the city mob desires only two things, "panem et Circenses"—the distribution of corn and the spectacles in the circus. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 53.

Sorae. This and the other towns mentioned are all in Latium.

224. **paratur**, is bought; the word is in contrast with *conducis*. Conf. *Sat.* iv. 131; v. 56; xiv. 140, 200, etc.

225. **tenebras**, a dark hovel.

229. **centum . . . Pythagoreis.** The Pythagoreans were vegetarians as a consequence of their belief that after death the souls of men passed into the lower animals, which therefore ought not to be killed and eaten. Conf. *Sat.* xv. 173.

231. **unius . . . lacertae**, of a single lizard, which could be kept in a very minute garden.

232. **Plurimus . . . aeger**, conf. "densissima lectica," *supra*, *Sat.* i. 120.

vigilando. For the quantity of the final "o," see note on *Sat.* i. 79.

illum languorem, the very illness from which they suffer.

233. **imperfectus**, undigested; conf. "crudum pavonem," *Sat.* i. 143.

234. **meritoria**, lodgings.

235. **Magnis opibus dormitur**, it costs a great deal to sleep; abl. of price. Conf. Mart. xii. 57, "nec quiescendi in urbe locus est pauperi."

236. **redarum transitus.** The *lex Iulia municipalis* (45 B.C.) prohibited the passage of waggons or carriages through the streets until after four o'clock in the afternoon, with certain exceptions. Accordingly heavy loads were conveyed through at night-time. Conf. also Plin. *Paneg.* 51.

237. **stantis convicia mandrae**, "the confused noises of the loitering herd." Conf. Ov. *Met.* v. 676, ' nemorum convicia picae."

238. **Druso**, the Emperor Claudius, who used to sleep over the lawsuits at which he presided. Suet. *Claud.* 33.

vitulis marinis. An allusion to Homer's picture, *Od.* iv. 404 *seq.*, of Proteus and his *phocae* sleeping at mid-day on the shore. Conf. also Verg. *Georg.* iv. 432.

239. **officium,** duty to a friend, such as making a call, or attending a recitation.

240. **ingenti . . . Liburno,** on an immense Liburnian carrier. Conf. *Sat.* vi. 477, "tarde venisse Liburnus dicitur." The Liburnians from Illyria were employed as carriers for the *lecticae,* as also were Cappadocians, Celts, and Germans. For the abl. case conf. note on *Sat.* i. 13, see also *Sat.* ix. 250, "effugit remige surdo." The scholiast reads *liburna,* a Liburnian vessel, and so "a huge litter."

242. **clausa . . . fenestra.** The *lecticae* had windows of talc, —*specularia.* See *Sat.* iv. 21.

243. **Ante tamen veniet,** nevertheless he will get there before the poor client.

244. **prior,** in front of us.

246. **metretam,** a nine-gallon cask, probably of oil.

248. **clavus militis.** Conf. *Sat.* xvi. 24. Military boots were called *caligae;* C. Caesar, son of Germanicus, was called Caligula, because he was born in the camp. They were studded with hobnails (*clavi*).

249. **quanto celebretur sportula fumo.** This picture is either taken from the period of Domitian's reign in which food was given instead of the 100 *quadrantes,* or points to the fact that both practices were still in existence side by side.

250. **convivae,** viz. the clients who came to fetch their food.

sequitur sua quemque culina. Each was followed by a slave carrying a brazier to keep the portion hot.

251. **Corbulo,** type of a strong man. Cn. Domitius Corbulo was legatus of Germania Inferior under Claudius, and legatus of Syria and Cappadocia under Nero. Tacitus calls him "ingens corpore," *Ann.* xiii. 8.

254. **tunicae,** not of the clients, who must appear *togati,* see note on *Sat.* i. 96, but of the passers-by generally, of the "tunicatus popellus." Conf. Plin. *Ep.* iv. 16, "scissis tunicis ut in frequentia solet."

255. **altera . . . plaustra,** a second waggon. For this description, conf. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 2, 72.

257. **saxa Ligustica,** blocks of marble from Luna (the modern Carrara), on the borders of Etruria and Liguria. Conf. Martial, v. 22, 8, "Quaeque trahi multo marmora fune vides."

Trajan put a limit to this heavy traffic through the streets. Conf. Plin. *Paneg.* 51, "non ut ante immanium transvectione saxorum nobis tecta quatiuntur."

procubuit, has once fallen over; the perfect is used like the aorist of momentary action.

261. **more animae**, "like a vanishing soul." Conf. Hom. *Od.* xi. 232.

Domus, *i.e.* the *familia*, or household of slaves. Even a poor client like the one supposed to be killed would have several slaves. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 116, "cena ministratur pueris tribus," who speaks of being waited upon at his frugal supper by three slaves.

263. **striglibus**, for *strigilibus*. The *strigil* was an instrument for scraping the skin after the bath. It was perhaps of metal, which would explain *sonat*.

componit, gets ready for.

gutto, an oil-cruet (dat. case). The towels were anointed with aromatic oils.

264. **at ille**, but their master, who had been killed by the falling waggon. Conf. the use of *ipse*, "the master." Catullus has "suam norat ipsam" of a bird knowing its own mistress.

265. **novicius**, newly arrived. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 325 *seq.*

taetrum porthmea, conf. Vergil's "terribili squalore Charon." *Aen.* vi. 297.

266. **alnum**, the boat. Verg. *Georg.* i. 136, speaks of "alnos cavatas."

267. **trientem**, the third part of an *as*; the smallest Roman coin was the *quadrans*. It was customary among the Greeks of comparatively late days to put an obol into the mouth of the dead to pay Charon's fare. Juvenal of course only refers to the superstition jokingly. There is no proof that the Romans adopted the custom. Vergil does not mention it, but see Propert. iv. 11, 7.

quem porrigat, final force of the relative.

269. **quod spatium**, etc. As land was dear in Rome, the houses were built to a great height, limited, however, by Augustus to seventy feet. Conf. also Tac. *Ann.* xv. 43.

272. **silicem**, the pavement.

274. **intestatus**, see note on "intestata senectus," *Sat.* i. 144.

277. **defundere pelves**, to empty the contents of their pans. Prof. Mayor compares Vergil's *pateram fundere*, *Aen.* iv. 60.

278. **Ebrius ac petulans**, etc. See the account in Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 25 of Nero's nocturnal frolics in the streets.

279. **dat poenas**, suffers torture; conf. the Greek δίκας διδόναι and λαμβάνειν.

280. **cubat in faciem.** The description is taken from Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 10—ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε | ὕπτιος, ἄλλοτε δὲ πρηνής.

281. **Ergo non aliter**, etc. "Otherwise (*i.e.* if he has not killed his man) he will really not be able to sleep," etc. This seems better than supposing the words to be a question put by Umbricius, to be answered by himself. The final syllable of *ergo* is almost invariably short in Juvenal. There is only one other exception in *Sat.* ix. 82.

282. **quamvis improbus.** For *quamvis* see note on *Sat.* iii. 1. *Improbus* is a word with many meanings, the root idea being "beyond measure." A few examples are—*improbum patibulum*, a very high gallows; *improbus labor*, excessive labour; *improbus anser*, a voracious goose; here it is "overweening, insolent."

283. **cavet**; notice the meanings of *caveo* with accus. and dative, and compare it with *consulo* and *vaco.*

laena, probably the same as the *lacerna*, which was worn over the *toga.*

284. **comitum longissimus ordo.** Perhaps some rich man might be escorted (*deductus*) home from supper by his friends.

285. **multum . . . flammarum**, a quantity of torches.

287. **filum**, wick.

288. **prooemia**, the prelude (προοίμιον). The word, properly applied to music, often means the preface of a book or speech. Plato describes the discussion in the First Book of the *Republic* as the προοίμιον of what was to follow. Conf. *Sat.* v. 26 and xv. 51.

290. **stari iubet**, orders a halt.

291. **cum . . . cogat.** *cum* (when) takes a subjunctive because it is a hypothetical case.

idem fortior, one too who is stronger.

292. **aceto**, sour wine.

293. **conche.** For the vegetable diet of the poor, conf. *Sat.* i. 134, and Horace's apostrophe to the bean—"faba Pythagorae cognata," *Sat.* ii. 6, 63.

sectile porrum. The leek was either *sectile* or *sectivum*, *i.e.* cut when young, or *capitatum*, allowed to grow to a head. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 133.

296. **ubi consistas**, where you take your stand, *i.e.* for begging.

in qua te quaero proseucha? For the ind. *quaero*, Prof. Mayor quotes Madvig, *Opusc.* ii. 40, who says that in Latin, where a question is asked of one's self, the indic. is frequently used instead of the deliberative conjunctive. Conf. *Sat.* iv. 130, "conciditur?" Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 40, "advolone an maneo?"

The *proseucha* was a house for prayer outside a city, and usually near a river, which, in places where there was no synagogue, the Jews were allowed to build. Conf. Acts xiv. 13. Here the rich bully pretends to think that the poor man is a Jew.

298. **vadimonia . . . faciunt.** Conf. note on line 213 above.

301. **paucis cum dentibus.** Conf. *Sat.* xvi. 10.

302. **qui spoliet**; for subj. conf. "quem porrigat," line 267.

304. **compago**, joint. **siluit**, has ceased creaking, *i.e.* in being fastened up.

catenatae tabernae. Becker supposes that *catenatae* refers to the custom at wine-shops of chaining the bottles to the pillars. Conf. Mart. vii. 61, "catenatis lagonis."

305. **grassator**, highwayman.

agit rem, "goes to work," or perhaps, "does your business for you." Conf. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 21, "negotium transegisses." I think that *subitus* shows that the phrase must be taken in this sense rather than in that of "carries on his trade."

307. **Pomptina palus**, etc. The Pomptine marsh in Latium had been partially, but not completely, drained by Augustus. It was, like the Gallinarian wood near Cumae, infested with brigands, who, when soldiers were sent to these places, flocked to Rome, and added to the dangers of the poor man's life there.

312. **proavorum atavos.** The order of ascent is *avus*, *proavus*, *abavus*, *atavus*.

313. **sub regibus atque tribunis**, *i.e.* under the Monarchy and the Republic, of which the *tribuni plebis* were the most characteristic representatives.

314. **uno . . . carcere**, the *carcer Mamertinus*, built by Ancus Martius. This was the only prison for centuries, but before 210 B.C. (Liv. xxxii. 27) another, the *carcer Lautumiarum*, was added.

315. **poteram.** The imperfect tense implies that something which might have been fulfilled is actually unfulfilled. *Possum* = "I can and perhaps will": *poteram* = "I could, but won't": *potui* = "I could, and did or did not," as the case may be. Conf. Verg. *Ec.* i. 79, Hor. *Sat.* ii. 1, 16. Similarly, in Greek ἔδει and χρῆν imply some state of things which might conceivably have been other than it is.

319. **tuo . . . Aquino.** Juvenal was born at Aquinum, a *colonia* on the Via Latina. See Introd. p. xviii.

refici is of course governed by *properantem*, not, as Mr Macleane supposes, by *reddet*, which would require *reficiendum*.

320. **Helvinam Cererem.** Aquinum had temples to Ceres and Diana. The former may possibly have been erected by a member of the *gens Helvia*, which is known by inscriptions to have belonged to the neighbourhood.

322. **caligatus**, with thick country boots on; or possibly there is a military metaphor involved. **auditor**, the reading of *P.* for the old *adiutor*, is a decided improvement.

SATIRE IV

1. **Crispinus.** Conf. *Sat.* i. 27.

2. **ad partes**, to play his part.

3. **aegrae** = feeble.

4. **deliciae**, a fop. Conf. Mart. viii. 48, 6, "nec nisi deliciis convenit iste color."

viduas, unmarried women.

5. **refert**; see note on *Sat.* i. 154.

6. **porticibus.** Conf. *Sat.* vii. 178, "porticus, in qua gestetur dominus quotiens pluit."

Each large villa was provided with a hippodrome and a *gestatio*. The former was a broad pathway lined with plane-trees, which were clad with ivy climbing from tree to tree. The *gestatio*, in which the lord was carried in his *lectica*, was an oval walk also shaded by trees. The *porticus* here mentioned can be neither of these, because (1) the passage in Satire vii. 178 shows that it was covered in; (2) Martial, i. 12, speaks of a portico nearly killing its owner by falling in. There was probably in many villas a kind of arcade or colonnade round a portion of the house in which the owner might either drive or be carried. Conf. also Mart. xii. 50.

vectetur, *i.e.* in the *lectica*.

in umbra, probably of plane-trees. See note on *Sat.* i. 12. In the pleasure-gardens of the rich there were usually extensive avenues.

7. **vicina foro.** Prof. Mayor quotes Tac. *Ann.* iii. 9, "fuit inter irritamenta invidiae domus foro imminens."

9. **incestus** (*in-castus*), an incestuous wretch. The word is often used of sacrilege, as here.

cum quo, etc. The name of the person who in the account of Suetonius was found guilty of an intrigue with Cornelia, a Vestal virgin, was Licinianus. Whether Crispinus was the real culprit, or whether Juvenal refers here to another case, is uncertain. See Suet. *Dom.* 8.

nuper = *noviper.*

vittata . . . sacerdos, a Vestal virgin.

10. **terram subitura.** The ancient punishment, revived by Domitian, for unchastity on the part of a Vestal was starvation in an underground chamber outside the Colline Gate. Suet. *Dom.* 8, and Plin. *Ep.* iv. 11.

12. **si fecisset . . . caderet,** the imperfect in the apodosis, because the result, the *ignominia,* would be lasting. *Sat.* vii. 13.

fecisset, if he had been guilty: "fecisse videtur" is the technical term for a verdict of guilty.

sub iudice morum, *i.e.* Domitian, who assumed the title of *censor perpetuus.* The censor would punish any violation of the sumptuary laws. Martial addresses Domitian as "Censor maxime, principumque princeps."

13. **Titio Seioque.** Lucius Titius and Gaius Seius are names to represent ordinary citizens. They are frequently used in the Digest for the parties in a lawsuit. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 182.

14. **foedior omni crimine,** "too disgraceful for any accusation." Conf. *infra,* "privatis maiora focis." *Sat.* iii. 203, "Procula minor."

15. **persona,** the character you are dealing with.

sex milibus, sc. *sestertiûm.* The high price was caused by its unusual size, as mullets rarely exceeded two pounds. In Tiberius's reign three mullets were sold for 30,000 sesterces. Suet. *Tib.* 34. If the *denarius* or 4 sesterces are reckoned at 7½d., 6000 sesterces would amount to £46 : 17 : 6. Conf. Mart. x. 31, 4, and 37, 7.

16. **aequantem,** as a neuter verb in the sense of "coming up to," often takes an accus.; conf. Sallust, *Jugurtha,* cap. 3. **paribus libris** is ablative.

18. **Consilium laudo artificis,** "I praise it as a masterpiece of skill," *i.e.* in the craft of legacy-hunting; see note on *Sat.* iii. 221, and conf. xii. 121.

19. **praecipuam in tabulis ceram.** A will usually consisted of two wax tablets (*tabulae* or *cerae*); if there were a considerable number of heirs or legatees, the principal heirs would be mentioned on the second side of the first, those receiving less on the second, and so on. If any one were made *heres ex asse,* "heir to the whole estate," one tablet would be enough;

see *Sat.* i. 68. Here *praecipuam ceram* is by hypallage equivalent to *praecipui heredis ceram*, i.e. *primam ceram*; conf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5, 52.

21. **antro**, the *lectica*. The litter was closed against wind or rain, but had large windows, made not of glass but of the *lapis specularis* (talc or mica).

23. **miser et frugi**, *i.e.* in comparison with Crispinus.

Apicius lived under Tiberius, was notorious for gluttony and extravagance, is said to have spent 100,000,000 sesterces on his kitchen, and finally to have poisoned himself from fear of poverty; see Mart. iii. 22, who tells the story. Conf. also *Sat.* xi. 3.

24. **patria . . . papyro**, with an apron made of his country's papyrus. He is called in *Sat.* i. 26 "pars Niliacae plebis."

25. **hoc pretio squamam**, *i.e. emisti.* The first *hoc* may possibly be governed by (*fecisti*), but probably also goes with *pretio.* *squama* is used for the whole fish, as *carina* is used for the whole ship, and *axis* for the whole chariot.

26. **Provincia tanti.** It would be a very small estate, for we find Domitian paying 100,000 sesterces for an estate in Bithynia which he gave to a rhetorician. See Plin. *ad Trai.* 58.

27. **maiores Apulia vendit.** The land in Apulia was cheap and unfruitful, owing to the hot wind called *atabulus*, which was prevalent there at certain seasons; conf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, 77-8, "Incipit ex illo montes Apulia notos ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus." Conf. Sen. *Ep.* 87, 6, "tantum suburbani agri possidet, quantum invidiose in desertis Apuliae possideret."

28. **Quales tunc epulas**, etc. This is a very awkward transition from the preface of the satire dealing with Crispinus to the main episode in it. The first 28 lines may perhaps be a fragment of an uncompleted satire, which Juvenal afterwards pieced on to the story of the turbot.

putamus; for the ind. mood, see note on *Sat.* iii. 296.

29. **induperatorem** or *endoperatorem* = *imperatorem.* In old Latin *endo* is found for the prep. *in.* Even in Lucretius, who has *endogredior*, such forms are archaisms, and Juvenal is purposely using epic language and style in this satire.

30. **modicae**, *i.e.* for Crispinus.

31. **purpureus**; conf. "Tyrias lacernas" in *Sat.* i. 27.

scurra, a buffoon.

magni . . . Palati. The Domus Augusti was at the back of the Palatine Hill. Under Augustus and Tiberius the emperor's abode was like that of an ordinary citizen, but Caligula, Nero,

and Domitian constructed spacious buildings until practically the whole hill was covered with them.

32. **princeps equitum** = *princeps equestris ordinis*, or the *praefectus praetorio*. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 14. Whether Crispinus actually was one of the *praefecti praetorio* under Domitian is uncertain; if so, he must have been the colleague of Cornelius Fuscus, killed in the Dacian war (*Sat.* iv. 111). The fact that Crispinus is one of those summoned to the council (see line 108) seems to favour this view, though the manner in which Martial speaks of him (vii. 99) is somewhat against it.

33. **municipes . . . siluros**, "the shads from his own country." Conf. "lagonae municipes Iovis," Cretan wine-jars, *Sat.* xiv. 271; and "Cadmi municipes lacernas," Mart. x. 87, 10. *municeps* (*munia-capio*) was one who undertook public duties in his city.

fracta de merce, "from his damaged wares."

34. **Calliope**, the Epic muse. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 4, 1-2, "Descende caelo, et dic age tibia regina longum Calliope melos."

37. **Flavius . . . ultimus.** Domitian was the last of the Flavian dynasty. He was preceded by his brother Titus and his father Vespasian. He came to the throne in 81, and died in 96 A.D.

38. **calvo . . . Neroni**, a bald edition of Nero, whose character Domitian's resembled. Conf. Mart. xi. 33, and Suet. *Dom.* 18.

39. **spatium admirabile rhombi**, a turbot of wonderful size. Conf. "Crispi iucunda senectus," "violentia Turni," "βίη Ἀχίλλεως," etc. Pliny, *H. N.* ix. 169, mentions the turbots of Ravenna.

40. **Dorica.** Ancona was founded by some refugees from Syracuse, which was itself a colony from Corinth, and therefore Dorian, sent out in 734 B.C. There was a famous temple of Venus Marina there.

41. **neque enim**, nor indeed; see note on *Sat.* i. 89.

42. **glacies Maeotica**, the ice on the Palus Maeotis, or Sea of Azov. The turbots were blocked up here in inactivity during the winter, and when the ice broke up in the spring, they passed through the Cimmerian Bosporus into the Pontus, and through the straits at Byzantium (*ad ostia Ponti*), which had a great trade in fish.

46. **pontifici summo.** After the death of Lepidus, the third member of the second triumvirate, Augustus assumed the *pontificatus maximus*, and the office was held by all the emperors who succeeded him. The duties of the *pontifices* consisted in superintending all matters of religion, regulating the calendar,

fixing the dates for such festivals as were movable, and interpreting portents and prodigies. The luxury of the pontifical banquets is alluded to by Horace, *Od.* ii. 14, 28.

proponere, to offer for sale.

47. **multo delatore**, with many an informer; conf. again "densissima lectica." For the *delatores* see note on *Sat.* iii. 116; x. 70.

48. **algae inquisitores.** These men poked about everywhere and looked into the veriest trifles to see if they could claim anything for their employers. Vergil has the expression "proiecta vilior alga," *Ec.* vii. 42.

protinus, without more ado.

49. **agerent,** would go to law with.

50. **fugitivum**, the proper word for a runaway slave. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 174. Only by such an excuse could they claim the fish, for Roman law made fishing in seas and rivers open to all.

51. **vivaria Caesaris**, the preserves of Caesar, *i.e.* his fishponds. Wealthy Romans commonly had well-stocked *piscinae* in their gardens. To Hortensius the orator, and Lucullus the commander against Mithridates, both famous for wealth and luxury, Cicero applies the term "Piscinarii," *Epist. ad Att.* ii. 1, 6.

53. **Palfurio.** Palfurius Sura was expelled from the senate by Vespasian, after which he joined the Stoics and became a successful informer under Domitian. Conf. Suet. *Dom.* 13. **Armillatus** was another informer, according to the Scholia, which cite Marius Maximus.

55. **res fisci est.** On the establishment of the empire, the provinces were divided between the senate and the imperator. The revenues, taxes, and other monies proceeding from the latter, went into the *fiscus*, or emperor's treasury, the rest into the public *aerarium*. Sometimes *fiscus* is used loosely, as here, for any property which the emperor could claim by his position.

56. **ne pereat**, lest it should be wasted.

letifero . . . autumno; conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 7, 5-6, "dum ficus prima calorque designatorem decorat lictoribus atris," where *designator* means an undertaker.

57. **iam quartanam sperantibus aegris.** *quartanam*, sc. *febrem; quartan ague* was a milder form of the disease than *tertian.* Cicero tells Tiro that he hopes he will be stronger, "cum in quartanam conversa vis est morbi," *ad Fam.* xvi. 11. Conf. also Mart. x. 77.

59. **velut urgeat Auster**, the warm south wind, which would soon have spoilt the fish, was prevalent in autumn.

Conf. Hor. *Od.* ii. 14, 15-16, "Frustra per autumnos nocentem corporibus metuemus austrum."

60. **utque lacus suberant**, "and when the lakes were below them," *i.e.* the Lacus Albani, about fourteen miles from Rome. Domitian had a villa at Alba Longa, where he spent much of his time. See line 145.

quamquam diruta. *quamquam*, without a finite verb, is only found in the Silver Age. Alba Longa, with the exception of its temples, was destroyed by Tullus Hostilius, as Livy narrates, i. 29.

61. **ignem Troianum**, which Aeneas had brought from Troy, together with the Penates. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 296, "et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem, aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem."

Vestam . . . minorem, as compared with the Roman Vesta. So we find in inscriptions, "virgo Vestalis arcis Albanae."

62. **parumper** = παῦρόν περ, a very little while.

64. **exclusi . . . Patres.** Among other characteristics of despotic rule, the emperors were very inaccessible to their subjects. Pliny contrasts Domitian and Trajan in this respect, *Paneg.* 47.

65. **ad Atriden**, ironically, "the great king."

Picens. The fisherman ; Ancona was in Picenum.

66. **privatis maiora focis**, "too great for a private hearth." Conf. "Procula minor," "omni crimine foedior."

genialis, sacred to your genius. Each person had a genius, or protecting divinity, which was born with him (the root is *gen.*), and also died with him.

67. **stomachum laxare saginis.** Mr. Macleane translates this, "to distend your stomach with good things," referring *saginis* to the fish. I am afraid the real meaning is less savoury, but more characteristic of Roman gluttony, "to relieve your stomach of its last gorge." *saginis*, ablative of privation. Emetics were frequently taken for this purpose. It might be "to let out your stomach for a gorge."

69. **Quid apertius?** What could be more barefaced flattery?

et tamen illi surgebant cristae, "and yet his crest rose." *illi* refers to Domitian, who is pleased and gratified even with such transparent flattery. This is much better than to ascribe *quid apertius* to the fisherman, in reference to *ipse capi voluit*, and then to suppose that the fish's crest rose, as if indignantly to deny the truth of his words.

71. **dis aequa potestas**, *dis* = *deorum potestati*. Conf. "Isaeo torrentior sermo," iii. 74; and Plin. *Paneg.* 4, "aequata dis immortalibus potestas." Martial speaks of "edictum domini deique nostri" in reference to Domitian, who always began his rescripts thus: "Dominus ac deus noster sic fieri iubet."

73. **proceres.** These were probably the "amici Caesaris," or unofficial advisers and favourites. Maecenas stood in this relation to Augustus. Conf. *infra*, "miserae magnaeque pallor amicitiae."

75. **clamante Liburno**, "on the proclamation of the Liburnian slave," who admitted visitors to the emperor, and made proclamations like the present. The Liburnians were of great stature (conf. *Sat.* iii. 240), and probably had loud voices.

76. **rapta . . . . abolla**, see note on *Sat.* iii. 115.

77. **Pegasus** was said to have been the son of a trierarch, and to have received his name from the figure-head of his father's ship. The *Digest* says he was *praefectus urbi* under Vespasian. Juvenal charges him here with being too lenient.

attonitae positus modo vilicus urbi. The *vilicus* was usually a slave (see on *Sat.* iii. 195), and superintended other slaves; so Domitian treated Rome as his own property, and the citizens as his slaves, whence the *praefectus urbi* was in reality no better than a *vilicus.*

78. **praefecti.** Various prefects were established by Augustus to perform the various departments of state business. The chief were the *praefectus urbi*, *praefectus annonae*, *praefectus praetorio* (see note on *Sat.* iv. 32), *praefectus vigilum*. The *praefectus urbi* was the most important of these, and had an extended authority both in police matters and judicial proceedings. Conf. "interpres legum." On the history of the *praefectura urbi*, see Tac. *Ann.* vi. 11.

79. **interpres legum.** There was a *senatus consultum Pegasianum* called after him.

quamquam goes with *temporibus diris;* conf. note on line 60.

81. **Crispi iucunda senectus.** Vibius Crispus is ranked by Tacitus "inter claros magis quam inter bonos." Quintilian, x. 1, § 119, speaks highly of his eloquence, and calls him "compositus et iucundus." His wealth, made by public pleading, was proverbial. Martial, iv. 54, 7, speaks of a man as "divitior Crispo." He had 200,000,000 sesterces. See the story told of him by Suetonius, *Dom.* 3.

82. **cuius erant mores, qualis facundia** = *tales qualis erat*, "whose manners were like his eloquence"; and then, in explanatory apposition to the whole, comes *mite ingenium*, "a character made up of mildness."

84. **quis comes utilior.** It is noticeable that Domitian's officers and advisers were, as a rule, efficient, well chosen, and well looked after.

88. **pendebat,** hung in the balance, *i.e.* a single ill-timed word on the most trivial subject might be his ruin.

90. **nec civis erat, qui . . . posset,** "nor was he such a citizen as could"; note the consecutive force of *qui,* which requires a subjunctive.

93. **his armis,** *i.e.* by his complaisance and readiness to go with the times.

94. **eiusdem . . . aevi,** genitive of quality.

Acilius. Of the father not much is known. The son, Acilius Glabrio, had been consul with Trajan in 91 A.D., and was, according to Suetonius, executed by Domitian, as "molitor novarum rerum." Juvenal implies here (99-103) that Acilius fought in the arena as a way of feigning imbecility or madness, and so escaping the malignity of the emperor. Dio Cassius (67, 12) says that Domitian killed him through jealousy, owing to his success in the arena, and because he was inclined towards Jewish rites. Many have thought that he was a Christian.

95. **indigno, quem mors . . . maneret,** who did not deserve that so cruel a death should await him. *dignus* or *indignus,* followed by the consecutive use of *qui,* is the ordinary construction. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 653-4, "dignusque pater cui non Mezentius esset."

96. **domini,** see note on line 71.

olim, now for a long time. Pliny has "olim non librum in manus sumpsi."

97. **prodigio par est,** etc. The *Annals* of Tacitus are a gloomy commentary on this line. Conf. also the expression "de nobilitate comesa," i. 34.

98. **fraterculus esse Gigantis,** to be a mere insignificant son of earth, *i.e.* a nobody. The Gigantes were sons of Terra. Persius has the expression "progenies Terrae," vi. 17, for an unknown person.

100. **Albana . . . arena.** Domitian had an amphitheatre fitted up at his Alban villa, on which see above, line 60.

101. **venator.** Wild beasts were first exhibited and killed in the amphitheatre in 186 B.C. There were three classes of men who fought with the animals—(1) Condemned criminals; these were usually called *bestiarii.* (2) Professional *venatores,* who were trained and kept like gladiators in *venatoriae familiae.* (3) Amateurs, like Glabrio here, who, either from taste, servility, or cunning, appeared in public as *venatores.* We hear that nobles and senators often did so. The name *venationes*

was common to all exhibitions of the kind. These exhibitions of wild beasts, in which they were made to fight either with one another or with men, were always assuming wider and wider proportions. Originating in the facilities for getting wild beasts from Africa opened out by the conquest of Carthage, they led to a systematic capture of animals of every kind in every new province acquired by Rome. The various provincial governors, as we learn from Cicero's letters, were expected by their friends at home to send them animals for exhibition. Both the number and the varieties of the animals brought to Rome are almost incredible. We hear of elephants, hippopotami, crocodiles, giraffes, lions, tigers, bears, panthers, besides innumerable others. It was no uncommon thing for 300 or 400 lions, 400 or 500 bears, 20 or 30 elephants, and smaller animals in proportion, to be exhibited and killed at a single festival, though it must be remembered that, as the number of holidays kept continually increasing, these festivals lasted sometimes for weeks or even months together. Trajan celebrated his Dacian triumph by a four-months' holiday, during which 11,000 animals were killed. It need hardly be said that the capture and management and transport of these animals must have given employment to an immense number of persons. The exhibitions sometimes consisted of various performances, which the animals were trained to go through; more often, however, in combats between the animals themselves, as when an elephant was pitted against a rhinoceros, or between the *venatores*, often accompanied by trained dogs, and the various animals. Nero, on one occasion, made his praetorian guard enter the arena against 400 bears and 300 lions. Even more horrible were the occasions when unarmed criminals were driven into the arena to defend their forfeited lives for as long as possible against the hungry beasts. "Christianos ad leones" was a cry which was sure to be taken up with emphasis by a Roman mob. After the time of Vespasian, those *venationes* took place in the Colosseum, which was said to contain 87,000 spectators.

102. **priscum illud . . . acumen, Brute, tuum.** L. Iunius, nephew of Tarquinius Superbus, on the murder of his brother by the king, feigned madness, and hence received the cognomen of Brutus, in order, as Livy says, that his intellect, lying hid under that name, might wait its opportunity to become the liberator of the Roman people, Liv. i. 56.

103. **barbato . . . regi.** Barbers are said to have been first introduced from Sicily about 300 B.C. *barbato* here means "ancient," and so "simple." Conf. "intonsi Catonis," Hor. *Od.* ii. 15, 11. Conf. also *Sat.* v. 30, "capillato consule"; and xvi. 34.

104. **Nec melior vultu, quamvis ignobilis,** "no brighter

in countenance, although low-born." The nobles were the chief objects of imperial jealousy, but Domitian was fatal to all alike.

105. **Rubrius Gallus** had served under Nero, Otho, and Vespasian. See Tac. *Hist.* ii. 51.

offensae veteris reus atque tacendae, genitive of accusation after *reus; reus* properly is a party to a lawsuit (*res*); then it came to mean a defendant or criminal, equivalent to ὁ φεύγων. The Scholiast says he had seduced Domitian's niece, Iulia.

106. **et tamen improbior**, etc., "and yet more impudent than an abandoned wretch who writes a satire," *i.e.*, as the Scholiast says, "qui in aliis sua vitia reprehendebat." The first part of Sat. ii. deals with hypocritical philosophers who condemn the vices they practise. Conf. ii. 3, "quotiens aliquid de moribus audent qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt"; and ii. 24, "quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?"

107. **Montani**, possibly the Curtius Montanus whom Tacitus mentions as having attacked Nero in a poem, "detestanda carmina factitantem," *Ann.* xvi. 28. See also *Hist.* iv. 42.

108. **matutino . . . amomo.** The proper time for anointing would be after the bath, and before the dinner.

109. **redolent duo funera.** The dead body was anointed and perfumed before the cremation took place.

110. **Pompeius**, evidently a *delator*, but otherwise unknown.

susurro, a word like *murmur* or *turtur*, which imitates by its pronunciation the thing represented by it.

111. **et qui vulturibus**, etc. Cornelius Fuscus was *praefectus praetorio* under Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 6), and was by him sent against the Dacians in 88 A.D. He and his whole army were destroyed (Dio Cass. 68, 9). He was previously praefect of the fleet at Ravenna (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 12), and procurator of Pannonia.

112. **marmorea meditatus proelia villa.** This is generally taken to mean that Fuscus was a mere carpet-warrior, too luxurious for the realities of war. This is, however, hardly consistent with what Tacitus says of him, "non tam praemiis periculorum quam ipsis periculis laetus." The words therefore probably mean, as Mr. Macleane thinks, that he preferred retirement and military studies to a court life.

113. **prudens Veiento.** For this man, see note on *Sat.* iii. 185.

mortifero . . . Catullo; his full name was L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus. Pliny, *Ep.* iv. 22, describing a supper with Nerva, says, "incidit sermo de Catullo Messalino qui luminibus orbatus ingenio saevo mala caecitatis addiderat. . . . De huius nequitia sanguinariisque sententiis in commune omnes super

cenam loquebantur, cum ipse imperator 'quid putamus passurum fuisse, si viveret?' et Mauricus 'nobiscum cenaret.'"

116. **a ponte satelles.** Bridges were the ordinary stations for beggars. This does not mean that he ever had been a beggar, but that from his blindness and fulsome flattery he would have made a good beggar. Take, therefore, *a ponte satelles* in the relative clause after *mendicaret.* Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 134.

117. **dignus . . . qui mendicaret.** See note above on line 95.

Aricinos . . . ad axes. Carriages on their way to Aricia, on the Appian Road, fifteen miles from Rome. There was a temple of Diana on the heath near Aricia, whither at certain times the wealthy Roman women resorted to offer vows, and it was probably the traffic along the road on these occasions which attracted a regular colony of beggars. Conf. Mart. ii. 19, 3, and x. 68.

118. **devexae,** "descending the hill."

121. **pugnas Cilicis.** The Cilix was a gladiator accoutred as a Cilician pirate, just as a Thrax was equipped in the Thracian arms.

122. **pegma.** The *pegma* was a large wooden erection, with several platforms, which were arranged so as to rise or fall at will: they were used in theatres to represent mountains, or to facilitate the appearance or disappearance of gods, etc. Martial says, "ut crescunt media pegmata celsa via." We learn that on one occasion the story of Icarus was thus represented, when the boy fell from the *pegma* and sprinkled the emperor with his blood.

velaria (elsewhere *vela*) were the awnings fastened by means of poles over the entire amphitheatre for protection against the sun.

123. **ut fanaticus, oestro percussus . . . tuo,** "as if inspired with your frenzy." *fanaticus* was properly a person belonging to a fane or temple, then one under the immediate influence of the god, as the Pythian priestess was. *oestrus,* properly a gadfly, conf. Verg. *Georg.* iii. 148; then, metaphorically, a divine frenzy.

124. **Bellona,** an old Italian deity whose name was transferred to a new goddess introduced from Cappadocia. Conf. Lucr. i. 560. Her priests went through a mystic and violent cult, cutting themselves with axes, and prophesying to the sound of drums, etc.

126. **Britanno.** Agricola was commanding in Britain during Domitian's reign. He was recalled in 84 A.D.

128. **erectas in terga sudes,** "its fins (lit. wooden stakes), erected right up to its back," *i.e.* as if in defiance.

130. **conciditur.** For the mood, see note on *Sat.* iii. 296.

132. **quae . . . colligat,** final use of *quae.*

133. **Debetur,** is owed, *i.e.* is wanted.

Prometheus, used for a potter, as Vulcanus for a smith, conf. *Sat.* xiv. 35. Prometheus (*προμηθεία*, forethought) is represented in Greek mythology as a deity who helped to civilise the human race by teaching them the arts. But conf. *Sat.* viii. 133. Prof. Mayor quotes Lucian, *Prom.* 2, "*οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χυτρέας Προμηθέας ἀπεκάλουν.*"

134. **Argillam,** white clay, derived from the root *arg*, found in *arg-entum*, the bright metal; *arg-uo*, to make clear; *arg-utus*, clear in sound or shape; *Argus*, the bright heaven with its thousand eyes.

135. **tua castra,** appropriate to an *imperator* in the original sense of the word.

137. **noctesque Neronis iam medias.** Suetonius tells us that Nero protracted his banquets from midday to midnight. Conf. Tac. *Ann* xvi. 20, "ambigenti Neroni quonam modo noctium suarum ingenia notescerent."

138. **aliamque famem,** caused by the use of emetics. See note on line 67.

Falerno (sc. *vino*), wine grown on the north-west slopes of Campania.

140. **Circeis,** on the coast of Campania, not far from Terracina. Horace says, *Sat.* ii. 4, 33, "Ostrea Circeis, Miseno oriuntur echini."

141. **Lucrinum ad saxum,** at the rocks of the Lucrine lake, which was north-east of Baiae, and produced excellent oysters.

Rutupino . . . fundo. Rutupiae was the Roman town called afterwards Richborough, the site of which is not far from Sandwich. British oysters were celebrated at Rome. They were also obtained from Brundisium, Tarentum, and Cyzicus.

143. **echini,** a sea-urchin. See the line of Horace quoted above.

145. **dux magnus.** So in the same mocking way he is called "pontifex maximus," "Atrides," "induperator."

147. **Cattis,** a German tribe, occupying the district due east of Coblentz, and between the Rhine and the Main. Domitian celebrated a triumph over them in 84 A.D., and called himself Germanicus in consequence.

Sycambris, a tribe west of the Catti.

149. **praecipiti . . . pinna,** on hasty wing; or possibly the Scholiast may have ground for asserting that letters containing

good news were *laureatae*, while those containing bad news were *pinnatae*. Plutarch (*Oth.* 4) uses the word πτεροφόροι apparently in the sense merely of "couriers."

151. **tempora saevitiae**, genitive of definition.

152. **claras . . . illustresque animas**, *e.g.* Iunius Mauricus, Arulenus Rusticus, Herennius Senecio, Helvidius Priscus, Acilius Glabrio, Flavius Clemens, etc.

153. **Cerdonibus** is used in the Digest as a proper name for slaves, just as Titius Seiusque (see line 13) represent ordinary citizens. See *Sat.* iii. 182. The word literally means, workers for gain (κέρδος), and so artizans. It here is opposed to *Lamiarum.* The actual murderer of Domitian was Stephanus, a freedman. Suet. *Dom.* 17.

154. **Lamiarum caede madenti**, reeking with the blood of the Lamiae. Aelius Lamia was put to death by Domitian, Suet. *Dom.* 10; but he is only mentioned here to represent the class of nobles generally, against whom the emperors were especially bitter. Conf. *Sat.* vi. 385, "de numero Lamiarum." These last lines, together with the mention of the death of the younger Glabrio, help to fix the date of the Satire. Glabrio was put to death in 95. Domitian died in 96 A.D.

SATIRE V

2. **aliena vivere quadra**, conf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 114, "patulis nec parcere quadris," and Mart. vi. 75, 1, "quadramve placentae." Roman loaves were often divided into four: hence "aliena quadra" was a proverbial expression for "another man's bread."

3. **Sarmentus**, a freedman of M. Favonius (who was killed at Philippi); he was afterwards a favourite of Augustus. The Scholiast says that he illegally assumed the dignity and privileges of the Equestrian order, for which he was accused, but unsuccessfully. He is mentioned by Horace, *Sat.* i. 5, 52, *seq.*, and Plut. *Ant.* 59.

iniquas, "ill-assorted," with reference to the indignities parasites were exposed to.

4. **vilis Gabba**. Aulus Gabba, a wit mentioned by Quintilian, vi. 3, 27, and Martial i. 41, 15, "qui Gabbam salibus tuis . . . potes vincere." The Scholiast calls him "sub Tiberio scurra nobilis."

5. **quamvis iurato**. For construction of *quamvis*, see *Sat.* iii. 1. Conf. Cic. *ad Att.* i. 16, 10.

6. **frugalius**, comparative of *frugi*, for which see *Sat.* iii. 148.

8. **crepido**, a footpath above the level of the road. Beggars took their stand here as they did at the bridges. Conf. on inscriptions "viam cum crepidinibus straverunt."

tegetis, a beggar's mat, often made of rushes. Conf. *Sat.* ix. 140, "tuta senectus a tegete et baculo."

9. **dimidia brevior**, too small by half.

iniuria cenae = *iniuriosa cena*, alluding to the insults heaped on the guests. Conf. our expression, "a brute of a man."

10. **illic**, on the *crepido*. The subject of *possit* is *fames*.

12. **fige**. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 28, "impress on your mind."

13. **mercedem solidam**, "payment in full." Conf. "solido de die," "solidam solvere," and *Sat.* xi. 205.

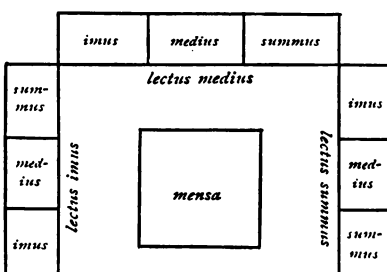
officiorum, in its proper sense of duties to patrons. Conf. "officiosa sedulitas," Hor. *Ep.* i. 7, 8. Beyond the "centum quadrantes," the client had no prospect of reward except, on rare occasions, a dinner. See iii. 126.

14. **amicitiae magnae**, conf. iv. 74.

imputat, makes a merit of it; lit. adds it to your account. Conf. Tac. *Germ.* 21, "gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur," and *Hist.* i. 55.

rex, conf. i. 136, "rex horum." Horace, *Ep.* i. 7, 36, says to Maecenas, "rexque paterque audisti."

17. **tertia ne vacuo**, etc. The *triclinium* consisted of three couches (*lecti*) arranged round a table. Each *lectus*, on which cushions (*culcitae*) were placed, contained usually three persons. The guest lay on his left elbow, and consequently might be said to look down on those whom he faced. Hence the right-hand *lectus* was called "summus," the left-hand "imus."



The post of honour was the left-hand corner of the *medius lectus*. The host was usually "summus" of the *lectus imus*. On the same couch usually sat his own family or parasites.

The vacant *culcita* in this passage was therefore probably in the "lectus imus." Conf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 20 *seq.* See Becker's *Gallus*, pp. 472-4.

19. **propter quod rumpere somnum debeat**, conf. iii. 127, "si curet nocte togatus currere," and Mart. xii. 26; also Pliny's phrase, "officia antelucana." Conf. Martial's complaint, x. 74, 12, "Quid concupiscam quaeris ergo? dormire."

20. **ligulas dimittere**, properly—*lingulas*, *i.e.* γλώττας τῶν ὑποδημάτων. Conf. Mart. ii. 27, 7. The *lingula* was either a tongue-shaped buckle, or a leather thong passed down the front of the boot. Conf. Mart. xiv. 120.

21. **peregerit orbem**, should have finished their round of visits. The patrons vied with one another in getting a large number of clients to pay the morning *salutatio*. Conf. Mart. xi. 24, "ut tibi tuorum sit maior numerus togatulorum."

22. **sideribus dubiis**, when the stars are beginning to disappear, *i.e.* at early morning.

aut illo tempore, etc. This refers to an earlier time of the night, when the Great Bear or Charles's Wain (Bootes or Arctophylax) is still seen high in the sky. **pigri** because the constellation is nearly stationary.

24. **quod sucida nolit lana pati.** Pliny, *H. N.* xxix. 9, says that *sucidae lanae*, *i.e.* wool with the sheep's sweat still in it, was soaked in wine or oil or vinegar, and used for fomentations. This wine is too bad even for this purpose. On the treatment of clients, conf. Plin. *Ep.* ii. 6, who mentions a man who "sibi et paucis opima quaedam, ceteris vilia et minuta ponebat. Vinum etiam parvolis lagunculis in tria genera descripserat . . . aliud sibi et nobis, aliud minoribus amicis (nam gradatim amicos habet) aliud suis nostrisque libertis."

25. **de conviva.** Conf. vii. 197, "fies de rhetore consul."

Corybanta, one of the priests of Cybele, whose worship was always violent and enthusiastic. See note on *Sat.* viii. 176.

26. **Iurgia proludunt.** Conf. "prooemia rixae," iii. 288. *iurgium* = *iurigium* (*ius ago*).

27. **rubra . . . mappa**, a blood-stained napkin. The host often provided the *mappae*. Martial has an epigram on a man who used to steal them when he dined out, xii. 29.

29. **Saguntina . . . lagona.** The Saguntine earthenware was famous. It is mentioned both by Pliny, *H. N.* xxxv. 160, and Martial, iv. 46. The parasites and freedmen are supposed here to fling the wine-jars at one another, as the result of this bad, heady wine. With lagona = Greek λάγυνος, conf. ancora ἀγχύρα, nox νύξ, mola μύλη, etc.

30. **capillato diffusum consule.** *Diffundere vinum* was to transfer it from the *dolium*, where it was put for the purpose of fermentation, into *amphorae* and *cadi*, the corks of which were covered with pitch or gypsum, and the title of the wine and the name of the consuls for the year marked on it or hung on labels. So Cagnat (*Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*, p. 308) gives an inscription found on an amphora, "Ti Claudio P. Quinctilio cos. a.d. xiii. K(alendas) Iun(ias) vinum diffusum quod natum est duobus Lentulis consulibus." Conf. *Sat.* xi. 159, and Hor. *Ep.* i. 5, 4. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 8, 10-12. See Becker's *Gallus*, pp. 487-9. For "capillato consule" conf. "barbato regi," iv. 103 and xvi. 31. Barbers were introduced into Rome 300 B.C.

31. **bellis socialibus.** The Social War was begun in 91 B.C. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 14, 18, "cadum Marsi memorem duelli."

32. **cardiaco,** "with a disordered stomach." Prof. Mayor quotes Pliny, *H. N.* xxiii. 25, "cardiacorum morbo unicam spem in vino esse certum est."

cyathum. The *sextarius* ($\frac{1}{8}$ of a *congius*, and equal to about one pint) was divided, like the *as*, into multiples of $\frac{1}{12}$. The *cyathus* answered to the *uncia*, and was $\frac{1}{12}$ of a *sextarius*; for the other divisions the same names were employed as for the divisions of the *as*. So Martial has, ii. 1, 9, "mixto quincunce"; and vi. 78, 7, "misceri deunces."

33. **Albanis . . . de montibus.** Conf. xiii. 214, "Albani veteris pretiosa senectus"; Hor. *Od.* iv. 11, 2; *Sat.* ii. 8, 16, where it is offered to Maecenas, the guest of the evening. This wine ranked after the Caecuban and Falernian.

34. **Setinis.** The wine from Setia in Campania was known for its digestive properties. Martial, vi. 86, 1, 2, "Setinum, dominaeque nives, densique trientes, quando ego vos, medico non prohibente, bibam?" Augustus gave the palm to this wine, even over the Caecuban, which was usually considered the best.

35. **multa veteris fuligine testae.** The *amphorae* were placed in a chamber, usually above the bath, called the *fumarium* or *apotheca*, in order to be mellowed by the smoke. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 8, 10, "amphorae fumum bibere institutae," and Mart. x. 36, 1.

36. **coronati,** a usual custom at feasts. It was believed that certain flowers prevented intoxication. The chaplets were brought to the guests when the *mensae secundae* were served.

Thrasea Helvidiusque. Fannius Thrasea Paetus was put to death by Nero in 66 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 21), his accuser being Cossutianus Capito, who said in his speech, "frustra Cassium amovisti, si gliscere et vigere Brutorum aemulos passurus es." Thrasea had written a life of Cato the younger.

Helvidius Priscus was the son-in-law of Thrasea, and like him belonged to the Stoic school, Tac. *Hist.* iv. 5. He was banished by Nero (Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 33), and executed by Vespasian (Dio Cass. 66, 12).

37. **Brutorum,** *i.e.* Marcus and Decimus, both among the murderers of Caesar. Prof. Mayor quotes Pliny, *Ep.* iii. 7, 8, and Mart. xii. 67, 3, to prove that the birthdays of the dead were often observed by their friends. See also Sen. *Ep.* 64, 8, "Quidni ego magnorum virorum et imagines habeam incitamenta animi et natales celebrem?"

Ipse, the patron Virro.

38. **Heliadum crustas.** The *crustae* were embossed figures fixed on to the metal. The Heliades were daughters of the sun, who, in grieving for their brother Phaethon, were changed into poplars from which amber exuded. Ov. *Met.* ii. 365.

inaequales berullos. *berylli* (a kind of emerald) were polished, Pliny tells us, into a hexagonal shape, in order that the colour might be brought out by the reflection from the angles. This possibly explains *inaequales*, which, however, may only mean "rough."

39. **phiala,** on his goblet.

aurum. Conf. *Sat.* x. 27.

40. **custos adfixus ibidem.** Conf. Mart. xiv. 108, "Quae non sollicitus teneat servetque minister, sume Saguntino pocula ficta luto." See the story of Vinius and Claudius in Tac. *Hist.* i. 48.

42. **praeclara illi laudatur iaspis,** "he has a splendid jasper, much praised." Conf. "*οὐ γὰρ βάναυσον τὴν τέχνην ἐκτησάμην,*" Soph. *Ai.* 1121.

43. **transfert a digitis.** Conf. Mart. xiv. 109, "Aspice! quot digitos exuit illa calix." Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiii. 5, says, "turba gemmarum potamus et smaragdis teximus calices."

45. **zelotypo,** jealous. Conf. "zelotypus Thymeles," *Sat.* viii. 197.

iuvenis praelatus Iarbae. Aeneas, for whom Dido rejected Iarbas and her other African suitors. Juvenal has in his mind *Aen.* iv. 260, "illi stellatus iaspide fulva ensis erat."

46. **Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem.** Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 34) mentions a cobbler of Beneventum, named Vatinius, as giving a gladiatorial show in 62 A.D. He was well known under Nero, with whom he was a favourite, and, having a remarkably long nose, gave his name to a jar with four nose-like spouts. Conf. Mart. xiv. 96, "Vilia sutoris calicem monumenta Vatini accipe: sed nasus longior ille fuit;" also x. 3, 4, "Vatiniorum fractorum."

47. **nasorum quatuor,** genitive of quality.

48. **rupto poscentem sulfura vitro**, "demanding sulphur for its broken glass," *i.e.* only fit to be exchanged for sulphur matches, a kind of exchange alluded to in Mart. i. 41, 3, "Transtiberinus ambulator qui pallentia sulphurata fractis permutat vitreis"; and i. 10, 4. Conf. also Mart. xii. 57, 14, "sulphuratae lippus institor mercis." Or possibly an allusion is made to the use of sulphur as a cement for mending glass. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* viii. 20, 4, "sulphuris udor saporque medicatus, vis qua fracta solidantur."

50. **decocta**, sc. *aqua*. It was an invention of Nero to have water boiled and then put into a glass covered with snow, Plin. *H. N.* xxxi. 40. Conf. Mart. ii. 85, 1, "Vimine clausa levi niveae custodia coctae." The water is said sometimes to have cost more than the wine.

51. This is sometimes thought to be an interpolation. It seems, however, to me to be needed between 50 and 52, so as to give its proper force to *aquam*.

52. **cursor Gaetulus**. Africans, especially Numidians, were used both for drivers and outriders. The latter preceded sometimes a carriage, sometimes a litter. See Mart. iii. 47. He would naturally be a rough waiter.

54. **cui per mediam nolis noctem**, etc. To meet an Ethiopian was considered an omen of impending evil. Conf. the story of the Ethiopian spectre which appeared to Brutus before Philippi, Plut. *Brut.* 48.

55. **monumenta Latinae**. See *Sat.* i. 171. The Via Latina left Rome at the Porta Capena, then left the Appia Via, with which it at first coincided, on the right, passed over the Tusculan Hill (whence the epithet *clivosae*), and joined the Appia Via again at Casilinum.

56. **ante ipsum**. The servants passed between the couches and the table.

flos Asiae; perhaps an Ionian slave. Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 56, says that Antonius gave 200,000 sesterces for two boys.

paratus. Conf. iii. 224.

57. **Tulli . . . pugnacis**. Tullus Hostilius fought against the Albans and Sabines. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 813, "movebit Tullus in arma viros." Hor. *Od.* iv. 7, 15.

59. **frivola**. Conf. iii. 198.

60. **tot milibus emptus**; see note on line 56.

61. **miscere**, to mix wine with water. The Roman wines were not usually drunk pure.

62. **digna supercilio**, justify his disdain. *supercilium*, lit. the eyebrow, then the movement of the eyebrow which signifies

disdain. *Sat.* vi. 169, "grande supercilium." Conf. "naribus uti," to turn up the nose.

63. **calidae**; sc. *aquae.* A mixture of hot wine and water was a favourite beverage among the Romans. It was sold in places sometimes called "thermopolia." Ammianus says that a governor of the city, named Ampelius, wishing to check gluttony and luxury, "statuerat ne taberna vinaria ante horam quartam aperiretur, neve aquam vulgarium calefaceret quisquam." Conf. Mart. vi. 86, 5, 6, "possideat Libycas messes Hermumque Tagumque, et potet calidam, qui mihi livet, aquam." The vessels in which the water was warmed were called ἐμπυριβῆται.

65. **poscas . . . quod.** The construction is virtually oblique, expressing the thought implied in *indignatur.* Contrast with this the account in *Sat.* xi. 145 *seq.*, of the old-fashioned manner of attendance.

66. **servis . . . superbis.** Conf. iii. 189, "cultis servis." *superbus* = ὑπερφυής. For change of φ into β, conf. ἄμφω, *ambo.* Some families had immense numbers of slaves. Even Horace, *Sat.* i. 3, 12, considers ten the minimum for a small household.

67. **porrexit.** Conf. i. 70, "porrectura viro . . . rubeta."

68. **vix fractum**, scarcely ground at all, or broken with difficulty.

solidae . . . farinae. *farina* was the meal made from *far.* Conf. Mart. ix. 2, 4, "convivam pascit nigra farina tuum."

69. **quae genuinum agitent**, "to exercise his grinders." Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 134, "eorum [dentium] adversi acuti morsu dividunt escas, intimi autem conficiunt" (work through) "qui genuini vocantur" (*gena*, cheek).

70. **mollique siligine fictus**, made of soft fine wheat. Seneca, *Ep.* 123, says that hunger will render even bad bread "tenerum et siligineum."

72. **salva sit artoptae reverentia**, "let the respect for the bread-pan be maintained." *artopta* (ἄρτος ὀπτάω) is used by Plautus, *Aulul.* ii. 9, 4, for a bread-pan—"ego hinc artoptam ex proximo utendam peto." It is sometimes taken to mean a baker, but this suits neither passage well. Notice Juvenal's contemptuous use of the Greek word.

73. **improbulum**, a little unscrupulous. See note on "improbus," iii. 282.

superest illic, there is still some one behind.

74. **Vis tu**, Will you please to, etc. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6, 92.

canistris, baskets in which the bread was handed round.

75. **Scilicet**, used ironically or bitterly—"it seems."

77. **per montem adversum,** over the hill in front of me.

gelidas . . . Esquilias. The Esquiline Hill was on the east of the Forum, between the Viminal and Caelian. Horace, *Sat.* ii. 6, 32, calls it "atras Esquilias," because formerly it had been a burying-ground for the poorer classes. Maecenas had, however, a house there, and had laid out his gardens beyond it on the site of the old burial-ground. Conf. Mart. iii. 36, 4.

79. **paenula** (Grk. φαινόλης), a thick over-garment without sleeves, fitting closely over the *toga*, and worn in travelling or wet weather. Milo was *paenulatus* when he met Clodius, Cic. *pro Mil.* § 54. In Juvenal's time it was usually made of *gausape*, a shaggy kind of cloth. Conf. Mart. vi. 59, 8, "Mense vel Augusto sumere gausapinas." "Cordus" is also called "alpha paenulatorum," ii. 57, 4. To run in such a dress was well-nigh impossible.

81. **squilla,** a lobster. Apicius the epicure is said to have sailed to Libya because he heard that finer *squillae* were to be obtained there. Many were found at the mouth of the Liris. Conf. Mart. xiii. 83.

84. **dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo,** "a crab pinched up between half an egg." The *cammarus* was an inferior kind of *squilla.* Conf. Mart. ii. 43, 12, "Concolor in nostra, cammare, lance rubes." As probably many of these crabs were served round to the *clientes,* only half a hard-boiled egg was spared for each.

85. **feralis cena.** A meal of a simple description (*pultes, panis, merum*) was placed sometimes on the funeral pyre, sometimes on the tomb nine days after the burial; hence the expression "novemdialis cena," Tac. *Ann.* vi. 5. There was sometimes also a feast at the house on the ninth day. Conf. Pers., vi. 33, "sed cenam funeris heres neglegit iratus."

86. **Venafrano** (sc. *oleo*). Venafrum was a town on the borders of Campania and Samnium. Conf. Hor. *Od.* ii. 6, 15, "viridique certat bacca Venafro," and Mart. xiii. 101, "hoc tibi Campani sudavit bacca Venafri."

87. **olebit lanternam,** semi-cognate accusative. Conf. νάπυ βλέπειν. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 123, "ungor olivo, non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis."

88. **alveolis,** dishes or plates.

89. **canna Micipsarum,** the reed-boat of the Africans. Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 206, says, "naves utiles in Nilo fiunt ex papyro et arundine." *Micipsarum,* generalising use of the plural. Micipsa was king of Numidia. The word is used here of Africans generally.

90. **cum Bocchare nemo lavatur,** because the Africans

anointed themselves at the baths with such abominable oil. Bocchar was a king of Mauretania, and an ally of Jugurtha.

91. A doubtful line, not found in *P.* Even snakes will not touch them when anointed with this oil.

92. **Mullus**; see note on *Sat.* iv. 15 for the usual size of these fish.

93. **Tauromenitanae rupes.** Tauromenium, a town on the east coast of Sicily.

94. **nostrum mare**, *i.e.* the sea near Italy.

dum gula saevit. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 39, "crescente gula."

95. **macello**, the provision-market on the north of the Via Sacra. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 229, "cum Velabro omne macellum mane domum veniant." See *Sat.* xi. 10. Varro, *Ling. Lat.* v. 146, says, "forum boarium, olitorium, piscarium . . . haec omnia posteaquam contracta in unum locum quae ad victum pertinebant, et aedificatus locus appellatum Macellum."

96. **Tyrrhenum . . . piscem.** The Mare Tuscum or Tyrrhenum was that part of the Mediterranean between Italy and Sardinia.

97. **Instruit . . . focum provincia**, *i.e.* the provinces must supply dainties, since our own coasts are exhausted. Conf. *Sat.* iv. 26.

98. **captator**, a legacy-hunter; see on *Sat.* xii. 93 *seq.* Horace describes the arts of these men in *Sat.* ii. 5.

Aurelia is of course the rich *orba*, who is courted with presents of fish, which she sells. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 1, 78, "sunt, qui crustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras." Juvenal, alluding to these presents made to *orbi* in vi. 40 uses the phrase "captatore macello." Aurelia is mentioned as a rich lady, "signatura testamentum," by Pliny, *Ep.* ii. 20, 10.

100. **gurgite de Siculo.** Conf. Mart. xiii. 80, 1, "quae natat in Siculo grandis muraena profundo." The rich Romans used to keep lampreys in their *piscinae.* Hortensius went into mourning on the death of one. In the dinner described by Horace, *Sat.* ii. 8, 42, a "muraena" is served up amid "squillas natantes." *gurgite* probably refers to the straits between Rhegium and Messina, where the story of Scylla and Charybdis is fixed; see line 102.

101. **in carcere**, *i.e.* in the *Aeolium antrum;* conf. Vergil's description, *Aen.* i. 52-54. Conf. *Sat.* x. 181.

102. **lina.** Conf. "lini magister," iv. 45.

104. **Tiberinus** (sc. *lupus*), a pike from the Tiber. The river pikes were usually considered dainties, especially if caught "inter pontes," *i.e.* between the Fabricius Pons and the

Sublicius Pons, where the water was especially rapid. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 30, *seq.*, "esto: unde datum sentis, lupus hic Tiberinus, an alto captus hiet, pontesne inter iactatus." The pike in the present passage, however, was diseased with the cold, and had swum up the Cloaca Maxima as far as the Subura.

105. **vernula riparum**, "always frequenting the banks." See note on "verna Canopi," i. 26.

torrente cloaca. The Cloaca Maxima, built by Tarquinius Priscus, and composed of three arches, one within another, drained all the low-lying district between the seven hills of Rome. It passed underneath the Forum, and thence down past the Velabrum to the Tiber.

106. **cryptam . . . Suburae**, the main drain of the Subura. For the Subura, see note on *Sat.* iii. 4.

107. **Ipsi**, to the host.

109. **a Seneca.** Seneca, the tutor of Nero, was both rich and liberal. He was a native of Corduba in Spain, and belonged to the Stoics. He was killed by Nero, nominally for complicity in the conspiracy of Piso, really for the sake of his money. Martial says, xii. 36, 4, "Pisones Senecasque . . . mihi redde."

Piso bonus. Calpurnius Piso was the head of the conspiracy which caused the death of Seneca, 65 A.D. Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 48, speaks of his "largitionem adversus amicos."

Cotta Messalinus is mentioned, vii. 95, among other patrons of literature. Tacitus probably speaks of the same man, *Ann.* xiii. 34, as having had "avitas opes," which he had squandered.

110. **titulis**, the inscriptions under a bust or statue.

112. **ut cenes civiliter**, "that you will dine as a citizen among citizens." Conf. Mart. iii. 59, 1-2, "Cum vocor ad cenam, non iam venalis ut ante, cur mihi non eadem, quae tibi, cena datur?" Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 12.

114. **Anseris . . . magni iecur.** The livers of geese were artificially fattened. Conf. Mart. xiii. 58, "Aspice quam tumeat magno iecur ansere maius!" Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 88, "Pinguibus et ficis pastum iecur anseris albae." Prof. Mayor mentions the "pâtés de foies gras" made out of the livers of geese at Strassburg.

115. **altilis**, a fatted capon, derived from *alo.* Horace has "satur altilium," *Ep.* i. 7, 34.

Meleagri. For the story of Meleager and the boar of Calydon, see *Class. Dict.*

116. **aper.** Conf. i. 141, "animal propter convivia natum."

tradentur. The old reading was *raduntur.*

tubera, truffles. Pliny (*H. N.* xix, 37) says that they are best in spring, and that autumn rains and thunderstorms make them plentiful; hence "optata tonitrua."

118. **"Tibi habe frumentum,"** keep your corn to yourself. Africa was one of the granaries of Rome. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 117. The selfish epicure Alledius would be content that every one should starve as long as he got his truffles.

120. **Structorem.** Conf. Mart. x. 48, 15. The *structor* was properly a servant who arranged the dishes in a tasty, artistic fashion. He is often, however, the carver (*carptor*). There was a regular school at Rome in which carving and its accompaniments were taught as a fine art, and where the pupils practised on wooden models. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 141, "ulmea cena." They are said sometimes to have carved to the accompaniment of music, but, at any rate, some peculiar gesture was appropriate to each animal carved, and various movements both of the hands and feet formed part of the performance. Hence "saltantem" and "chironomunta," the latter a Latinised form of *χειρονομοῦντα.* It was Juvenal's habit to use Greek words to express customs derived from Greece. Conf. "trechedipna" and "ceromatico" in *Sat.* iii. 67, 68; and vi. 63, "Chironomon Ledan molli saltante Bathyllo."

122. **dictata,** the lessons.

magistri. His name is given as Trypherus in *Sat.* xi. *loc. cit.* Seneca says, "est aliquis scindendi obsonii magister."

123. **sane,** "it must be allowed"—ironical.

125. **Cacus.** For the combat with Hercules, see Verg. *Aen.* viii. 264 *seq.*, and *Class. Dict.*

127. **hiscere,** to open your mouth.

tamquam habeas tria nomina, *i.e.* as though you were a freeborn citizen. Roman citizens had a *praenomen,* peculiar to themselves; a *nomen,* common to the whole *gens;* and a *cognomen,* belonging to the particular branch of the *gens.* Thus Gaius Iulius Caesar. To these was sometimes added a special name, such as Africanus, Numidicus, etc., to commemorate some special exploit. In imperial times the *cognomina* were often very numerous. *peregrini* had only one name.

propinat . . . tibi, drinks to your health, *i.e.* drinks out of a cup, and then pledges it to another, challenging him to empty it. Conf. Cic. *Tus. Disp.* 1, 40, of Theramenes drinking the poison, "propino, inquit, hoc pulchro Critiae." The words "sumitque tuis," etc., refer of course to the converse, "lets you pass the cup to him."

130. **regi;** see note on line 14. Conf. *Sat.* vii. 45, viii. 161

131. **laena,** the *lacerna;* see iii. 283.

132. **Quadringenta** (sc. *sestertia*), the knight's *census ;* conf. i. 106. If the client were suddenly to be enriched, Virro would become a *captator*.

135. **frater**. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 6, 54-55, "frater, pater, adde : ut cuique est aetas ita quemque facetus adopta."

istis means "those near you," and is a better reading than *ipsis*.

136. **Ilibus**, used here of the loin, as in Mart. x. 45, 4.

137. **Dominus tamen et domini rex**, etc., if you wish to have clients of your own (*i.e.* to be *dominus*), and to be the patron of your present lord. The *dominus* was the master of a *familia*, the *paterfamilias*. *rex*, as we have seen before, is often used for a patron. If a rich man married and had children, his *captatores* fell off in their attentions. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5, 30, "fama civem causaque priorem sperne, domi si natus erit." So Pliny talks of an age, "quo plerisque etiam singulos filios orbitatis praemia graves faciunt."

138. **parvulus aula luserit Aeneas**. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* iv. 328, "si quis mihi parvulus aula luderet Aeneas" ; and *Sat.* x. 318, "tuus Endymion."

139. **illo**, than the *captator*.

141. **nunc**, as it is. As you are poor, your lord patronises your children, and makes them trifling presents.

143. **thoraca**, a vest or waistcoat.

144. **minimasque nuces**. The nuts were not for eating, but for a game in which they were used. Horace couples them with *tali*, knuckle-bones. *Sat.* ii. 3, 171, "talos nucesque."

145. **parasitus . . . infans**, because the child would probably follow in his father's footsteps ; on *parasitus*, see note to i. 139.

146. **Vilibus . . . amicis**. Conf. "modicis amicis," above, l. 108. So Pliny, *Ep.* ii. 6, says, "amicos gradatim habet."

147. **boletus**, a rare kind of mushroom. Mart. xiii. 48, "boletos mittere difficile est" ; and i. 30, "turba spectante vocata, solus boletos, Caeciliane, voras."

sed quales, nay, even such as. Conf. iv. 27, "sed maiores Apulia vendit."

quales Claudius edit. The Emperor Claudius was poisoned by a mushroom given to him by his wife Agrippina, with the help of Locusta, i. 71 (A.D. 54), Suet. *Claud.* 44. Conf. Mart. i. 21, 4, "Boletum, qualem Claudius edit, edas."

148. **ante illum uxoris**. Conf. *Sat.* vi. 620, "minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinae boletus?"

150. **poma**, the last course of the dinner. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, 6, "ab ovo usque ad mala."

pascaris, potential, not consecutive after "quorum."

151. **Phaeacum.** The Phaeacians, a partly mythical race, whose island has usually been identified with Corcyra. Conf. *Sat.* xv. 25, "de Corcyraea urna." The gardens of Alcinous are described by Homer, *Odys.* vii. 114 *seq.*, *οὐδ' ἀπολείπει χείματος οὐδὲ θέρους.* Verg. *Georg.* ii. 87.

152. **sororibus Afris**, the Hesperides. See *Class. Dict.* It was one of the labours of Hercules to steal their golden apples, which were guarded by a dragon. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 114.

153. **in aggere.** The *agger* of Servius Tullius, which ran across the Caelian and Esquiline hills, through the Horti Maecenatis, and northwards, skirting the Viminal, to the Porta Collina. This *agger*, as we learn from Hor. *Sat.* i. 8, 15 ("aggere in aprico spatiari"), was a public place of resort, and near it were the quarters of the praetorian troops. Conf. *Sat.* xvi. 26.

154. **qui tegitur parma**, etc. The best way of taking these two lines is to suppose that they refer to a monkey dressed up in shield and helmet by some soldiers, and taught to shoot javelins from the back of a goat on the Agger Servii. Prof. Mayor says that on a wall-painting at Pompeii there is a boy with a whip in his hand teaching a clothed ape to dance. So, too, Martial, xiv. 202, speaks of "callidus emissas eludere simius hastas." An objection to this way of taking it, that we should expect *ex capella*, is met by Munro, who quotes Ov. *Ars Am.* 1, 210, "telaque ab averso quae iacit hostis equo." The other way of explaining the passage is this: A raw recruit, half-starved and munching a rotten apple, is being drilled and learning to shoot from a goat-like old centurion or *campidoctor* on the *agger*.

metuens flagelli. Conf. "metuens virgae," *Sat.* vii. 210. The genitive is objective, as after *patiens*, *appetens*, etc.

156. **Forsitan** (*fors sit an*); sometimes abbreviated into *forsan*, and even *fors*.

157. **Hoc agit**, "he does it expressly." Conf. "hoc agite," *Sat.* vii. 20.

comoedia (*κῶμος ᾠδή*), originally the song of the revellers at the Phallic orgies, as *tragoedia* (*τράγος ᾠδή*) was the chant of the satyrs who attended Dionysus. The Revel Song was afterward developed and systematised into comedy by Epicharmus and Susarion, by the latter of whom it was introduced into Athens. At Rome at this period all theatrical entertainments in public were slighted, owing to the rage for the more exciting pastimes

of the amphitheatre; but it was a usual thing to have some entertainment of the nature of comedy at dinner parties. So Pliny, *Ep.* iii. 1, 9, says, "frequenter comoedis cena distinguitur."

mimus. Mimes became popular during the last century of the Republic. They were usually short pieces of a farcical nature, but admitting elements from a variety of sources. They bore a general resemblance to the *Atellanae*, but were taken more from city life. They were characterised generally by extreme licentiousness (Mart. iii. 86, "non sunt haec mimis improbiora"); sometimes serious subjects were parodied; sometimes a plot was introduced, in which vice always triumphed; sometimes it consisted merely in mountebank tricks: they were always varied by dancing, music, and gestures of all kinds. No masks were worn, and the usual costume was a kind of harlequin's dress with a short mantle. Horace, *Sat.* i. 10, 6, mentions the mimes of Laberius, who was a writer of a much higher order than the other *mimi;* he was, however, in the end obliged to yield to his sprightlier rival, Syrus. Mimes, though common at all seasons, were especially produced at the Floralia. The *pantomimus* or *histrio* was quite different, and was a professional dancer. See note on *Sat.* vii. 90.

160. **stridere,** to gnash; *diu presso molari,* "though your grinders have been long clenched tight," *i.e.* to prevent an outburst which might ruin your poor prospects.

164. **Etruscum puero si contigit aurum.** This refers to the *bulla,* a circular plate of gold which, together with the *toga praetexta,* was worn by free-born youths as a badge of their condition. The custom was derived from Etruria, and the earliest instance we have recorded of its use was in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, who was himself of Etrurian origin, and who decked his youthful son with the *bulla* as a reward for an act of bravery. Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 33, "senior bulla dignissime," and xiv. 4, "heres bullatus."

165. **nodus . . . de paupere loro.** The sons of freedmen and the poorer citizens generally wore *bullae* made of leather instead of gold. Conf. Livy, xxvi. 36, "ut lorum in collo pro bullae decore gestarent."

166. "**Ecce, dabit iam,**" the client is supposed to say this to himself or one of his fellow-guests.

168. **minor altilis,** a smaller capon, *i.e.* than the one served up to the patron.

Inde, and so.

169. **stricto pane,** as if the bread were a weapon to be used upon the expected viands. Trans. "ready for action."

tacetis, in reference to line 160. In spite of their anger they keep silence, and still hope on against hope.

171. **Pulsandum vertice raso**, etc., You will some day descend to be a mere jester, content to receive the blows and mockery of the company. Jesters were often provided by the host at a dinner; they usually had their heads shaved.

172. **quandoque**, some day. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 51.

173. **flagra pati**, "to be scourged," like a slave. Conf. *Sat.* x. 109; and for the whole Satire, conf. Mart. ii. 14, iii. 60, and Plin. *Ep.* ii. 6.

SATIRE VII

1. **ratio studiorum**, "motive of our studies." *studia* is evidently used (both here and in line 17) of poetry, as the context proves.

in Caesare tantum. See Introduction, where the date of Juvenal's *Satires* is discussed. Practically we have to choose here between Trajan and Hadrian. Pliny says of Trajan, *Paneg.* 47, "sub te spiritum et sanguinem et patriam receperunt studia"; see also *Ep.* iii. 18; but the *studia* are shown by the context to be oratory and philosophy, and Hadrian was the first emperor since Claudius who showed interest in poetry; he was indeed a poet himself. Friedländer believes that lines 1-21 were added as a complimentary dedication to Hadrian, while the rest of the Satire was written earlier. He points out the entire want of connection between this preface, which speaks of encouragement given to poetry, and all that follows, dealing as it does with the hardships and poverty of historians, lawyers, rhetoricians, etc. There is certainly some want of art in the Satire, unless we suppose that this view is correct. Hadrian succeeded Trajan in 117 A.D.

3. **respexit**, has taken notice of. Conf. Verg. *Ecl.* i. 28, "Libertas, quae sera tamen respexit inertem."

4. **balneolum.** In Rome and the large towns there were public baths where very often no charge was made to the bathers, but even here the number of bathers was so large that it was found a profitable occupation to start private baths (*balnea meritoria*), at which a small charge, usually a *quadrans*, was made. Sen. *Ep.* 86, "balneum res quadrantaria." *Sat.* vi. 447, "quadrante lavari." At Gabii, a primitive little place—conf. *Sat.* iii. 192—there would be no public bath, and a private one would probably be but a poor speculation. Conf. Hor. *Ep* i. 11, 12.

furnos, bakehouses.

6. **praecones fieri.** The trade of a *praeco* or auctioneer was considered so dishonouring that they were excluded from all municipal offices by the *lex Iulia municipalis.* Conf. *Sat.* iii. 33 and 157.

Aganippes, a fountain in Boeotia from which the river Permessus flowed. It was sacred to the Muses.

7. **migraret in Atria,** pass to the halls of the auctioneers. The Atria Licinii, situated in the Forum, was a place where auctions took place. Cicero, *pro Quinct.* c. 3, says, "Tollitur ab atriis Liciniis atque a praeconum consensu in Galliam Naevius."

8. **Pieria . . . in umbra.** Conf. the epithet *Pierides,* applied to the Muses. It was a grove at the foot of Mount Olympus. Conf. Mart. ix. 85, 3.

9. **ames,** "you must be content with."

Machaerae, some *praeco* of the day.

10. **commissa . . . auctio.** Conf. *committere proelium.* The phrase is appropriate to an auction in which there was a "certamen" between the bidders.

11. **oenophorum,** one of the various kinds of *cadus* or *amphora* into which the wine was poured (*diffusum*) from the *dolium.*

cistas. See *Sat.* iii. 206, where it is used for books.

12. **Alcithoen Pacci.** Alcithoe was daughter of Minyas, king of Orchomenos, and was changed into a bat for despising the orgies of Bacchus. Paccius is some tragic writer.

Thebas, the scene of many a Greek play.

Terea, husband of Procne, who served up to him his son Itys. See Ov. *Met.* vi. 424 *seq.*, and conf. *Sat.* vi. 644, "quidquid de Colchide torva dicitur et Procne."

Faustus is another unknown name. We are not always to suppose that they are real names. Some of them, like those of Martial, may be inventions of the poet.

13. **sub iudice.** Conf. *Sat.* iv. 12, and xv. 26.

14. **equites Asiani,** *i.e.* slaves from Asia, etc. (conf. *Sat.* iii. 62), who had gained the equestrian *census.* The Asiatics were notorious for lying. In writers of the Silver Age, *quamquam* often takes a subjunctive.

15. **equites Bithyni.** The MSS. have "equitesque"; but the first syllable of Bithyni is long. See *Sat.* x. 162.

16. **altera quos nudo,** etc., "whom the Galatian shoe makes ridiculous with uncovered ankle." The *gallicae* (see Cic. *Phil.* ii. § 76) were a species of *soleae* of which Aulus Gellius says (xiii. 21, 1), "quibus plantarum calces tantum infimae teguntur, cetera . . . prope nuda sunt." Apparently *altera*

gallica=Galatian shoe, just as *altera Gallia*=Gallograecia or Galatia. For this meaning of *traducit*, see *Sat.* viii. 17, and xi. 31. This reading removes the difficulty caused by the apparent confusion of Galatians and Bithynians, if Gallia is read.

17. **studiis.** See on line 1.

19. **eloquium vocale**, the eloquence of words.

laurumque momordit, and has tasted the laurel (of Apollo). Conf. Tibull. ii. 5, 63, "Vera cano: sic usque sacras innoxia laurus vescar," etc.

20. **Hoc agite**, "bestir yourselves." Conf. *Sat.* v. 157.

21. **materiam sibi**, material for his patronage.

Ducis indulgentia. Tacitus, *de Orat.* 10, gives an instance under Vespasian, who gave 500,000 sesterces to Saleius Bassus, and adds, "pulchrum id quidem indulgentiam principis ingenio mereri."

23. **atque ideo**, and from that belief; referring back to *putas.*

croceae membrana tabellae, "the parchment with its saffron page." The *charta* was made either from the *papyrus*, and this was the cheapest sort, or parchment—*Pergami membrana*—invented under King Eumenes of Pergamus. It was not, however, generally used in Juvenal's time, nor for some time afterwards, except perhaps for small note-books, etc. Books of papyrus were rolls, books of parchment were flat. The back of the paper was dyed with *cedrus* or saffron, both of which imparted a yellow colour, and were intended as preservatives against moths and damp. Conf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 331, "carmina linenda cedro"; Persius, iii. 10, "bicolor membrana." See note on *Sat.* i. 5, and Becker's *Gallus*, pp. 326-8.

24. **lignorum aliquid.** Conf. *Sat.* iii. 285, "multum flammarum."

25. **Veneris marito**, Vulcan, *i.e.* "fire." Conf. Prometheus, a potter; Ceres, corn; Bacchus, wine; Minerva, wisdom; Neptunus, the sea.

Telesine. A Lucceius Telesinus was banished from Italy as a philosopher by Domitian.

26. **clude.** Conf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 388.

28. **in parva . . . cella.** Martial often speaks from experience of the miserable garrets in which poets were obliged to live. See especially viii. 14.

29. **hederis.** Conf. Verg. *Ecl.* vii. 25, "hedera crescentem ornate poetam"; and Hor. *Car.* i. 1, 29, "Doctarum hederae praemia frontium."

imagine macra. Busts of the poets were placed in private

libraries, and also in the public library in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. *macra* because the poet would be half-starved on his road to fame.

30. **dives avarus.** So in *Sat.* ix. 38, "mollis avarus"; and conf. viii. 49, "nobilis indocti."

31. **tantum . . . laudare.** Conf. *Sat.* i. 74, "probitas laudatur et alget."

32. **Iunonis avem,** the peacock, a number of which birds were kept in the sacred grove of Juno at Samos. Conf. Ov. *Met.* xv. 385, "Iunonis volucrem quae cauda sidera portat."

34. **suamque Terpsichoren,** "and the muse it has chosen." Terpsichore was the muse of choral dancing and song.

facunda et nuda, "eloquent but threadbare."

36. **Accipe nunc artes.** "Now hear the excuses they make." This seems a better punctuation than making "artes" go closely with *ne quid tibi conferat.*

37. **Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta.** It seems better, with Prof. Mayor, to take this as one temple, viz. that on the Palatine, in which there stood statues of the Muses. Poets were wont to recite their compositions here in public. Some, however, were foolish enough to give up the chance of any advantage to be gained by these recitations, and to attach themselves to some patron who would lend them a room. See note on *Sat.* i. 3. Prof. Mayor quotes *Schol. Cruq.* on Hor. *Sat.* i. 10, 38, "Tarpa fuit iudex criticus auditor assiduus poematum et poetarum in aede Apollinis seu Musarum quo convenire poetae solebant suaque scripta recitare."

39. **propter mille annos.** Herodotus calculates the age of Homer (iii. 53) to have been about 400 years earlier than his own time.

40. **maculosas commodat aedes,** "lends you a dirty room," which, as the next lines explain, has long been locked up and unused. Some MSS. have *Maculonus,* as if this were the name of the patron. *P.* reads *Maculonis,* in which case we should have to translate "lends a house like Maculo's"; Maculo being some one notorious for his dirty shabby house. Conf. Tac. *de Orat.* 9.

41. **longe ferrata,** "barred up at a distance," so that the audience would have some distance to go. Conf. Mart. iii. 58, 51, "rus haec vocari debet an domus longe?"

42. **sollicitas . . . portas,** the gates of a city in the anxious time of siege.

43. **dare libertos,** "to distribute his freedmen,"—in order, *i.e.*, to lead the applause and shout σοφῶς = bravo! Conf. Plin.

Ep. ii. 14, "auditores actoribus similes conducti . . . ternis denariis ad laudandum trahebantur."

45. **dabit** is the emphatic word. The patron will *lend* an old disused chamber, but the chairs, etc., must be provided by the poet himself. Conf. Tac. *de Orat.* 9, "domum mutuatur, et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conducit," etc.

46. **anabathra**, the tiers of seats rising one above the other, opposed to the *orchestra* or space in front of the stage.

conducto . . . tigillo. Some planks had to be hired to make a platform for the *cunei* or *anabathra.*

47. **orchestra.** Here, at the theatre, were the senatorial seats, while the *equites* occupied the fourteen front rows of the *anabathra.* See note on *Sat.* iii. 178.

reportandis, "which have to be carried back."

48. **hoc agimus,** "we are engrossed in this."

49. **sterili . . . aratro.** The epithet is applied to *aratro* by hypallage. To plough the sand was a proverbial expression. Conf. Ov. *Her.* v. 115, and below, line 203, "sterilis cathedrae."

50. **Nam si discedas . . . tenet.** Suppressed apodosis, "it would be useless for," etc. Conf. *Sat.* x. 339.

52. **scribendi cacoethes,** itch for writing. *cacoethes* is often used of an ulcerous disease metaphorically, Pliny, *H. N.* xxii. 132.

53. **publica vena,** "commonplace talent." Conf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 409, "ego nec studium sine divite vena, nec rude quid possit video ingenium."

54. **expositum,** vulgar. **deducere,** generally a metaphor from spinning, here from beating out metal. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 225, "deducta poemata filo."

55. **carmen triviale,** a hackneyed song.

communi . . . moneta, with the current stamp; a metaphor from coining. Conf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 59.

feriat, conf. the "III viri aere argento auro flando feriundo."

moneta. Originally the Roman mint was in the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitol. Hence *moneta* came to mean "mint," and so our word money is derived.

58. **impatiens,** not impatient of, but untouched by—ἄπειρος.

59. **Aonidum,** the Muses, Aonia being an old name for Boeotia; see note on "Aganippes," line 6.

60. **thyrsum contingere.** The *thyrsus* was a staff wreathed in vine-leaves, and carried by the Bacchanals. The Bacchic *furor* was sometimes identified with poetic inspiration, and so here the *thyrsus* is mentioned in connection with the Muses.

Conf. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 2, 77, "Scriptorum chorus . . . rite cliens Bacchi."

62. **cum dicit Horatius "Euhoe."** Conf. Hor. *Car.* iii. 19, 8, "Euhoe parce, Liber! Parce gravi metuende thyrso!" *Euhoe* was the exclamation used by the Bacchanals. Horace himself, however, says, *Ep.* ii. 2, 51, "paupertas impulit audax ut versus facerem."

64. **dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque.** Cirrha, a port on the Corinthian Gulf, not far from Crissa, the ancient seat of Apollo's worship. Martial says, i. 76, "quid tibi cum Cirrha? quid cum Permesside nympha?" Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 79. Nysa was where Bacchus (Dionysus) was brought up; its locality is uncertain, possibly in India, possibly in Arabia, or it may have been in the range of Parnassus, as Strabo says. *dominis*, without the preposition, because it is not so much the persons as the influences they represent which are intended. Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 124, and vi. 29, "dic qua Tisiphone, quibus exagitare colubris?"

67. **attonitae**, perplexed. Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 194.

68. **qualis Rutulum confundat Erinys**, "the sort of Erinys to confound." The allusion is to Verg. *Aen.* vii. 445 *seq.*, where Alecto is sent by Juno to inflame the jealousy of Turnus.

Erinys. The Greek Ἐρίνυες, originally nature-divinities, connected with the dawn (the Sanscrit word for dawn is *Saranyu*), developed into furies, whose particular function it was to punish crimes against the family; hence the part they play in the story of Orestes. At Athens they were called the Εὐμενίδες, and also αἱ σεμναί. Vergil calls them "Dirae sorores," and "Furiae," but they have lost their peculiar function of tracking out crime, and become merely the instruments or agents of the malignant gods.

69. **Nam si Vergilio**, etc. Horace, *Ep.* ii. 1, 246, speaks of the "Munera quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt . . . Vergilius Variusque poetae." Conf. Mart. viii. 56, "Sint Maecenates, non derunt, Flacce, Marones."

70. **caderent omnes a crinibus hydri.** Conf. Verg. *loc. cit.* "geminos erexit crinibus angues." The imperf., as if Vergil was still alive.

71. Conf. *id.* 513, "cornuque recurvo Tartaream intendit vocem."

surda. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 194, "surdo verbere."

72. **antiquo . . . cothurno**, ancient tragedy. Conf. Hor. *Car.* ii. 1, 12, "grande munus Cecropio repetes cothurno." For person compared with thing, conf. *Sat.* iii. 72, "Isaeo torrentior," etc.

Rubrenus Lappa, some tragic writer of the day, so poor

that while he was writing his *Atreus* he was obliged to pawn his trays and cloak.

73. **laenam.** See note on *Sat.* iii. 283.

pignerat, causes to be pawned.

74. **infelix Numitor**; ironical. Numitor—probably the man mentioned in *Sat.* viii. 93—was a patron who was "dives sibi, pauper amicis."

76. **leonem iam domitum,** a tame lion. An immense number of lions were imported into Rome, as well as other animals, and many private persons kept them. We read in the *Philippics,* ii. 24, that Antony and Cytheris rode in a chariot drawn by lions.

79. **Lucanus.** M. Annaeus Lucanus, a nephew of Seneca, was a native of Corduba in Spain, where he was born 39 A.D. He inherited much wealth from his father, Annaeus Mela, who had been a procurator of the emperor; and for that reason, added to his literary renown, he incurred the jealousy of Nero, and was induced to join the conspiracy of Piso, which led to his death, as well as that of his uncle. His great work is the *Pharsalia.* See Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 17.

in hortis marmoreis. The pleasure-gardens of the rich were furnished with marble statues ranged along the walks and drives. See note on *Sat.* i. 12, and iv. 112.

80. **Serrano,** an epic poet mentioned by Quintilian, x. 1, 89, as dying young, but showing much promise. Martial, iv. 37, mentions his heavy debts.

Saleio. Saleius Bassus, an epic poet described by Tacitus, *de Orat.* 5, perhaps with friendly exaggeration, as "poeta absolutissimus." Vespasian gave him "quingenta sestertia." See also Quint. x. 1, 90.

81. **si gloria tantum est,** if it is glory without reward.

83. **Thebaidos.** The *Thebais,* in twelve books, was the work of P. Papinius Statius, who lived and wrote under Domitian (45-96 A.D.) He was born of noble parents at Neapolis, and though favoured by Domitian, we must infer from Juvenal's words that he remained poor. His mixed poems, the *Silvae* in five books, throw much light on various events in Domitian's reign. After a defeat in the *agon Capitolinus,* he retired from Rome and lived at Naples.

84. **promisitque diem,** *i.e.* for a recitation of his work.

86. **fregit subsellia versu.** Conf. line 45, and *Sat.* i. 12, "convulsa marmora."

87. **intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven.** Paris was an Egyptian pantomimist who lived under Domitian, by whom he

was executed in 83 A.D. on account of a suspected intrigue with Domitia, Dio Cass. 67, 3. Martial, xi. 13, has an epitaph on him, which ends "atque omnes Veneres Cupidinesque hoc sunt condita, quo Paris, sepulchro." It was the usual custom in theatrical circles for the same names to be handed down among the leading actors. Thus this Paris only assumed the name of the famous pantomimist of that name under Nero, and after him three others followed, bearing the same name. Roman tragedy never won its way into the favour of the people, and, as Friedländer describes it, tended to be resolved into its elements. One of these elements was dancing and gesticulation, either accompanied or not with words. Out of this grew, under the reign of Augustus, the pantomime. The subjects were chosen generally from tragedy, but sometimes also from comedy, and the pantomime represented the various characters as well as the plot by his dancing and gestures, while the libretto of the piece was usually sung by a chorus. The subjects were sometimes historical, but more often mythological; *e.g.* Turnus, Dido, Hector, Niobe, Philomela, etc. The skill with which the characters, whether male or female, were represented was extraordinary. The librettos, *fabulae salticae*, were usually quite subordinate to the dancing, and of no literary value, but we hear occasionally of good poets writing them. Lucan wrote fourteen, and Statius is here described as starving for all his *Thebais* can do for him, but getting a good price by selling his unpublished pantomime, the *Agave*, to Paris, who would dance it.

88. **Ille et militiae**, etc. The Scholiast and the Lives say that these lines were the cause of Juvenal's banishment. On the subject of the banishment, see Introduction. If it took place under Hadrian, as is probable, these lines, published under Trajan, may very likely have been repeated in the circus by the crowd in allusion to some unpopular favourite of Hadrian, and so have caused Juvenal's exile.

89. **semenstri . . . auro**, "the ring won by six months' service." Young men about to enter on the senatorial career were obliged to serve first as military tribunes in a legion. After Claudius, however (Suet. *Claud.* 25), this became in many cases a mere formality, and six months' service, often only nominal (as in Pliny's case, who was a tribune of the *legio iii. Gallica*, employed in clerical work), became a sufficient qualification, and *ipso facto* conferred equestrian rank; hence the term "semenstre aurum" with reference to the knight's ring. Similarly we find in inscriptions "tribunus semenstris," *Orell.* 3442; and Pliny, *Ep.* iv. 4, 2, uses the phrase "tribunatu semenstri." Those *tribuni militum* who were passing through the senatorial *cursus honorum* were *tribuni laticlavii;* those

who were passing through the equestrian career (see below) were *angusticlavii.*

90. **histrio.** In earlier times this word denoted any kind of actor, and it is a proof of how absorbing the interest in the pantomime became, that under the Empire it is exclusively applied to dancers in these pieces. Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 107) says that Cluvius Rufus derived the word from Hister, an Etruscan actor.

Camerinos et Bareas. The Camerini belonged to the *gens Sulpicia* (*Sat.* viii. 38). One, Sulpicius Camerinus, was sent to Athens to examine and report on Solon's laws. One of the Bareae has been mentioned in *Sat.* iii. 116. He was a man of wealth and influence. They belonged to the *gens Servilia.*

91. **magna atria**; perhaps at the morning *salutatio,* a duty of which Martial often complains.

92. **Pelopea . . . Philomela,** the names of pantomimic texts (*fabulae salticae*). The whole force of the passage would be lost by supposing them to be tragedies. The point is, that real poems find no patronage, and that poets, to get a living, must prostitute their powers by supplying the leading pantomimes with texts; while, at the same time, cutting allusion is made to the amount of influence which these 'artistes' possessed.

praefectos . . . tribunos. The auxiliary cohorts were commanded usually by *praefecti,* unless they were *milliariae, i.e.* containing 1000 instead of 500 men, in which case their commanders were *tribuni.* Those who entered, as Juvenal probably did, on the *equestris militia* began as centurions, and were then successively *primipili, praefecti cohortis, tribuni legionis,* and *praefecti alae,* promotion in each case depending very greatly on favour. Sometimes a man might not gain the post of *primipilus* till he was sixty. See *Sat.* xiv. 197.

93. **Haud tamen invideas vati,** etc. Nevertheless, though Statius may now and again receive a handsome sum for one of these pieces, it is an uncertain livelihood, because there are no patrons among the nobility, as there once were.

94. **Maecenas.** How Maecenas was the patron of the Augustan poets, and in particular of Vergil and Horace, is well known. Martial often sighs for such a patron. See viii. 56, i. 107, etc.

Proculeius, the same man as that mentioned by Horace, *Od.* ii. 2, 5, "vivet extento Proculeius aevo notus in fratres animi paterni."

95. **Fabius,** probably the Fabius Maximus to whom Ovid addresses several letters from Tomi, and from whom he had received much encouragement.

Cotta; mentioned in Sat. v. 109. He was another patron of Ovid, who calls him "Pieridum lumen praesidiumque fori." He was a son of the orator Messalla Corvinus, and was adopted into the Aurelian *gens*, of which Cotta was a *cognomen*.

Lentulus, probably Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, who was himself a writer of some repute. See Plin. *Ep.* v. 3, 5; Suet. *Calig.* 8.

97. **vinum toto nescire Decembri.** The month of December was sacred to Saturn, while the Saturnalia fell on the 19th and lasted seven days. This was a season of general festivity; no work was done by day, illuminations took place at night, the *toga* was generally laid aside, and carousals were long and frequent. Poets who wished to continue their work would probably have to leave Rome, as Horace says he did, *Sat.* ii. 3, 4, "At ipsis Saturnalibus huc fugisti." Martial speaks of the Saturnalia as "madidis diebus."

99. **perit . . . olei plus.** Conf. Plaut. *Poen.* i. 2, 119, "et oleum et operam perdere"; and Auson. *Epigr.* 34, 5. *perit* = "is wasted"; the reading of *P.* is more forcible than the old *petit.*

100. **millesima pagina.** The *pagina* (*pango*) was a strip of paper made out of thin layers of the *papyrus* bark pressed together, and usually from six to thirteen inches wide. The various *paginae* were fastened each on to the bottom of the preceding one, thus making one long roll many feet in length. A voluminous history might easily extend to the thousandth page.

surgit. Each fresh *pagina*, being affixed to the bottom of the roll, may be said to rise.

101. **multa damnosa papyro**, ruinous through the quantity of *papyrus* used. Though not so expensive as parchment, the *papyrus* used in a large work would be a serious item.

102. **operum lex.** Conf. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 3, 135.

104. **acta legenti** = *actuario.* The *acta diurna* were daily records of public events of interest, such as the proceedings of the *comitia* and the senate, births or deaths in illustrious families, and other events of the kind. The *actuarius* copied these out, and, as Prof. Mayor supposes, sometimes read them aloud. The opposition is here between "historico," one who deals with the great events of the past, and "acta," the petty details and gossip of the present. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 31.

106. **causidicis**, petty pleaders. Cicero, *de Orat.* i. 46, 202, contemptuously distinguishes them from an "orator." Martial, iv. 46, speaks of Sabellus, a *causidicus* who depended on the presents he received at the Saturnalia.

civilia . . . officia, the ordinary phrase for the services of

lawyers, which were originally supposed to be gratuitous, though they afterwards, like those of the clients, received definite payment. Pliny (*Ep.* vi. 32) has "ratio civilium officiorum."

107. **libelli**, his documents.

108. **magna sonant**: "talk big," *i.e.* brag about their fees; so that the creditor, thinking he is well off, may be forbearing.

109. **acrior illo**, some one still more eager than he, *i.e.* than the creditor. This probably refers to an intending client, whose business is explained in the next line, and who will be content to pay a higher fee if he thinks his lawyer is in good practice.

110. **venit ad**, comes after, *i.e.* to get. The prep. *ad* is like *μετά*.

dubium . . . nomen, a doubtful debt. *nomen* was properly the name under which a debt was entered in the books. So "bona nomina," "certa nomina."

112. **conspuiturque sinus.** It was a custom to spit on the breast after boasting to avoid Nemesis.

Veram deprendere messem, "to find out the real fruit of their labours."

114. **solum** (*patrimonium*), the single fortune.

russati . . . Lacernae. Lacerna, the charioteer of the Red. One of the most favourite amusements of the Roman people, both before and after the foundation of the Empire, was the chariot race in the Circus Maximus. These spectacles, like the gladiatorial shows and the *venationes* of the amphitheatre, were defrayed either by the magistrates or by private individuals, and the cost must have been immense. As, however, these individuals could hardly themselves provide all the horses, chariots, and other apparatus necessary, there grew up companies of capitalists, mostly from the Equestrian order, who kept an immense plant of all these things, which they then supplied on contract to those who provided the entertainment. As four chariots usually competed in a race, four companies existed, each of which assumed a particular colour, green, red, white, and blue, and were hence called "factiones." The existence of these companies immensely increased the excitement of the people, who to a man were partisans of one or other of the factions, and the interest lay not in which horses or charioteers won, but to which faction they belonged. As Pliny says (*Ep.* ix. 6), "favent panno, pannum amant . . . et si hic color illuc, ille huc transferatur . . . agitatores illos, equos illos . . . quorum clamitant nomina, relinquent." The wild excitement of the huge crowd defies description; they had few political interests, and the emperors were astute enough to encourage the interest in the circus, which might have otherwise found a more danger-

ous vent. The once sovereign people cared for nothing but "panem et Circenses." The four factions had huge stables near the Circus Flaminius. The emperors themselves became partisans—Vitellius of the blue, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian of the green. See *Sat.* xi. 198. The charioteers employed by the factions were paid immense sums. Martial says that Scorpus, another famous driver, in a single hour gained "quindecim graves auri saccos," x. 74, 5-6; see also iv. 67.

115. **consedere duces**, etc., a parody of Ovid's account (*Met.* xiii. 1) of the contest between Ajax and Ulysses for the armour of Achilles.

116. **dubia pro libertate.** The *causidicus* is supposed to be pleading for some one claimed as a slave in a *causa liberalis.*

bubulco iudice. The *iudices* under the empire were no longer chosen solely from the senators and *equites.* Any one might serve who had never been convicted of a criminal act.

117. **iecur.** See note on *Sat.* i. 37.

118. **virides, scalarum gloria, palmae.** Victorious advocates were often conducted home in triumph by the friends of their client, and palm branches fastened over their doors. Conf. Mart. vii. 28, 5-6, "Sic fora mirentur, sic te palatia laudent, excolat et geminos plurima palma fores." A poor pleader living in a garret might have his staircase adorned instead.

119. **siccus petasunculus**, etc. Conf. in Mart. iv. 46 the list of presents made at the Saturnalia by his clients to Sabellus. Also Persius, iii. 75, "et piper et pernae, Marsi monumenta clientis."

120. **pelamydum**, young tunny-fish.

Afrorum epimenia, "the monthly rations of the Moorish slaves." The Latin word was *menstrua.* Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 14, 40, "urbana diaria," daily rations.

121. **vinum Tiberi devectum**, such as the Veientanum, or Pelignum, which, like the Vaticanum, were all very inferior. Conf. Mart. x. 45, "Vaticana bibis? bibis venenum." The Campanian or foreign wines would be carried up the Tiber.

122. **aureus unus.** An *aureus* was equivalent to 100 sesterces. It was only legal for pleaders to receive regular fees since the time of Claudius, who made ten *sestertia* the maximum, see "quantum licet" below, Tac. *Ann.* xi. 7. Before that time payments had been forbidden by the *lex Cincia.*

123. **inde cadunt partes . . . pragmaticorum**, "from that sum (*aureus unus*) is deducted the share of the attorneys." The *pragmatici* supplied the technical knowledge of the law to the *causidici.* Conf. Quint. xii. 3, 4.

124. **Aemilio**, any noble pleader.

quantum licet, as much as is allowed by law (see *supra*), *i.e.* ten *sestertia*. This is better than *quantum libet.*

125. **huius enim stat currus aeneus**, "for belonging to him there stands," etc. The chariot was one handed down from his triumphal ancestors.

126. **in vestibulis.** The *vestibulum* was not a part of the house, but a vacant space towards the street, enclosed by the main building and *ianua* in the middle, and by the two wings on the right and left, thus—

Ianua.

Wings of House.	Vestibulum.	Wings of House.

Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 177, "Quin etiam veterum effigies ex ordine rerum . . . vestibulo adstabant." The derivation of *vestibulum* is *ve-stare*—*ve* meaning "outside"; as, *e.g.*, *vecors* = *excors.*

ipse feroci bellatore sedens, an equestrian statue of himself, probably erected by a client—a custom which we learn from Martial and Pliny was not uncommon.

128. **meditatur proelia**, practises battle. Conf. "meditari carmina." Conf. *Sat.* iv. 112.

lusca. No reference is intended to one eye being shut to take aim. It simply refers to the ordinary appearance of a statue in which the eye is not worked out.

129. **Sic Pedo conturbat** (sc. *rationes*), "becomes bankrupt." *sic*, *i.e.* through trying to vie with Aemilius.

Matho. Conf. "lectica Mathonis plena ipso," *Sat.* i. 32.

130. **Tongilii.** Martial, ii. 42, says, "omnes Tongilium medici iussere lavari."

rhinocerote, horn of oil, the same as "gutto" in *Sat.* iii. 263.

131. **vexat lutulenta balnea turba**, because, like many others, he goes to the baths attended by a crowd of clients.

132. **longo . . . assere**, the carrying-pole of the *lectica*, probably attached to it by rings.

Maedos, a tribe of Thracians on the Strymon. Syrians were often used. Conf. Mart. ix. 23, 9, "ut Canusinatus nostro Syrus assere sudet." Liburnians in *Sat.* iii. 240.

133. **murrhina.** The material of these cups has been much disputed. Pliny says it came from the East, and was found in many parts of the Parthian kingdom. It was in all probability a red and white agate, numerous bowls of which material have been discovered. This was boiled sometimes in order to bring

out the colours. Conf. Propertius, iv. 5, 27, "Murreaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis," a line which some have interpreted to mean that it was Chinese porcelain.

134. **spondet**, is surety for him—secures him credit.

stlataria, an uncertain word. Prof. Mayor shows that Paulus Diaconus, Ausonius, and Aulus Gellius all speak of *stlata* as a kind of ship, in which case the adjective perhaps means "sea-borne" or "foreign." The Scholiast explains it as "illecebrosa," *i.e.* probably "deceitful as a pirate craft." Corssen (*Krit. Beitr. zu lat. Formenlehre*, p. 462 foll.) thinks that *stlatarius*=*stratarius*, and so here "worked purple carpet."

135. **vendit**, sells him, *i.e.* gets him practice. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 74, "venditque poema."

136. **amethystina** = *amethystinae vestes.* Martial, ii. 57, speaks of a man walking through the streets "amethystinus," who had just before been obliged to pawn his ring.

convenit illi, it pays him.

138. **Sed finem impensae**, etc., "but luxurious Rome keeps no limit in its expense." So Seneca, *Epist.* 50, says, "non ego sumptuosus, sed urbs ipsa magnas impensas exigit."

141. **servi octo**, to carry his octophoros. See note on *Sat.* i. 64.

142. **togati**, *i.e.* clients who were always bound to appear in the *toga.* See note on *Sat.* i. 96.

143. **ante pedes**, *i.e.* to act as *anteambulones.*

146. **flentem producere matrem**, to produce in court a mother in tears for her son. The feelings of the *iudices* were often worked upon in this way. Conf. Quint. vii. 1, 30.

148. **Gallia.** Rhetoric was much studied in Gaul, conf. *Sat.* xv. 111; and at Lugdunum rhetorical contests were held in Caligula's reign. Quintilian, in his Tenth Book, mentions as famous orators Iulius Africanus and Domitius Afer, both Gauls. Carthage was one of the most important centres of Roman culture and literature.

150. **Declamare doces?** Having discussed the poor prospects of *causidici*, he now proceeds to describe the position of teachers of rhetoric.

ferrea, insensible as iron, because if they could stand the declamations of their pupils they could stand anything.

Vetti. Perhaps the Vettius mentioned as a rhetorician by Pliny.

151. **perimit saevos . . . tyrannos**, "kills off the tyrants"; *i.e.* practises declamation in favour of tyrannicide, perhaps a not uncommon subject. We know that Carinas Secundus (see

line 204) was banished by Caligula for declaiming against tyrants (Dio Cass. 59, 20), while Maternus was killed by Domitian for the same reason (*id.* 67, 12).

numerosa. Conf. *Sat.* x. 105.

152. **sedens . . . stans.** The class sits while reading over the declamation to be practised, stands up to recite it. See Plin. *Ep.* vi. 6 6, "sicut in scholis discipuli sedentes de scripto legunt, stantes declamant."

153. **cantabit versibus isdem,** "will drawl it forth in the self-same lines." *versus* are lines of prose as well as poetry. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5, 52.

154. **crambe repetita.** There was an old saying, δὶς κράμβη θάνατος.

155. **Quis color.** *color* is a technical term in rhetoric, and means the particular aspect given to a case, either by the accuser or defender, by a skilful representation of facts in themselves undisputed.

quod sit causae genus. The causes were divided into judicial, deliberative, and laudatory.

156. **diversae . . . sagittae,** "shafts from the other side," *i.e.* counter-arguments. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 75.

158. **quid enim scio,** Why, what do I know?

Culpa docentis . . . arguitur, "the fault is made out to be that of the teacher."

159. **laeva in parte mamillae**; his heart, often spoken of as the seat of the understanding. Conf. Persius, iii. 111, "cor tibi rite salit?"

160. **Arcadico iuveni.** The Arcadians, like the Boeotians, were proverbially dull. Conf. Persius, iii. 9, "ut Arcadiae pecuaria rudere credas," *i.e.* asses.

cuius—to be taken with "Hannibal."

161. **dirus . . . Hannibal,** a frequent subject for declamations. Conf. *Sat.* x. 166, "curre per Alpes ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias."

162. **an petat urbem a Cannis,** as Maherbal advised him to do; Liv. xxii. 51. This would be one of the *suasoriae.* See note on *Sat.* i. 16. Notice that *an petat* and *an circumagat*" are two distinct questions by asyndeton, and not two alternatives, put for *utrum* and *an.* The second question refers to a time several years later than the battle of Cannae.

164. **circumagat madidas a tempestate cohortes.** On two occasions near Capua, when the armies were about to engage, they were separated by a sudden storm. Liv. xxvi. 11.

165. **Quantum vis stipulare,** "stipulate for what sum you please."

protinus accipe, receive down, *i.e.* on the spot.

quid do, ut, etc., "what would I give that," etc. This is the MS. reading, and seems better than Prof. Mayor's *quod do,* "receive what I offer." Munro thought the punctuation might be, "protinus accipe: quid? do ut," etc.

166. **totiens,** as often as I have had to.

Haec alii sex, etc. "This is the unanimous complaint of half a dozen or more other rhetoricians."

167. **sophistae** = *rhetores.* Numbers of them came over from Asia Minor.

168. **veras agitant lites,** *i.e.* have to go to law to get their fees.

raptore relicto: the *raptor* of some maiden was a stock subject for declamation. Conf. also Quint. *Decl.* 247.

169. **fusa venena,** another favourite subject, Quint. *Decl.* 17.

malus ingratusque maritus, a subject suggested by Seneca (*Controv.* ii. 13). A wife is tortured by a tyrant who suspected her husband of a plot. She reveals nothing. Soon after the husband kills the tyrant, and then divorces his wife. She accuses him of ingratitude.

170. **et quae iam veteres,** etc. Some subject which can only be conjectured. There is no reference in these subjects to the story of Medea and Jason.

171. **sibi dabit ipse rudem.** Gladiators on retiring were presented with a *rudis* or wooden sword. So Horace, *Ep.* i. 1, 2, has "donatum iam rude." Cic. *Phil.* ii. 29, 74, "Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito (accepisti)!"

173. **ad pugnam.** This is explained by the next line. He goes to law (*ad pugnam descendit*) in order not to lose the paltry sum (*summula*) he has earned by his teaching.

rhetorica . . . ab umbra. Conf. the expression "umbratilis vita," a life of retirement as opposed to action.

174. **qua vilis tessera venit frumenti.** The custom of distributing corn either gratis or at a nominal price to the poorer Roman citizens, begun by the Gracchi, was continued under the Empire, when the distribution took place once a month. Those privileged to receive it, of whom there was a definite number, were provided with a ticket of wood or metal, with their name on it, and that of their tribe. Properly only Roman citizens had the right to these, but they were sometimes sold to others, as here to the Greek rhetorician, who spent his little gains in buying one. Conf. Pers. v. 74, "scabiosum

tesserula far possidet." The distribution was made at the Porticus Minucia. Cagnat (*Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*, p. 321) gives some examples of these *tesserae frumentariae*.

175. **quippe haec merces lautissima**, "this is, forsooth, the richest gain he can expect," *i.e.* he will be lucky if he gets as much.

176. **Chrysogonus** and **Pollio** were teachers of singing and the *cithara*, who were very much better paid than the rhetoricians. Juvenal says to the latter, "Find out how much teachers of music receive, and you will tear to pieces the text-book of Theodorus."

177. **scindes.** I have followed Friedländer and Mayor in reading Jahn's conjecture *scindes* instead of *scindens*. Conf. *Sat.* i. 155, "Pone Tigellinum, taeda lucebis in illa." For *ars*=text-book, conf. Cic. *de Fin.* iii. 7, "scripsit artem rhetoricam." *Sat.* vi. 452, "volvitque Palaemonis artem."

Theodori, a famous rhetorician of Gadara, who settled at Rhodes, and taught Tiberius while he was living in retirement in that island. Suet. *Tib.* 57, and Quint. iii. 1, 17.

178. **sexcentis**, *i.e. milibus*.

porticus. See note on *Sat.* iv. 6, and conf. Mart. i. 12, "Heu quam paene novum porticus ausa nefas! Nam subito collapsa ruit, cum mole sub illa gestatus biiugis Regulus esset equis."

182. **Numidarum . . . columnis.** A fine yellow marble was imported from Numidia.

183. **algentem rapiat cenatio solem**, "let the banquet-room catch the winter's sun." In great houses there were special *cenationes* for different seasons of the year. For the winter, one facing the south was best.

184. **qui fercula docte componit**, *i.e.* a *structor;* see note on *Sat.* v. 120.

186. **qui pulmentaria condit**, a cook.

187. **Quintiliano.** Quintilian was born at Calagurris in Spain in 35 A.D., and came over to Rome with Galba. He received a salary as professor of rhetoric from Vespasian, was Pliny's teacher (Plin. *Ep.* ii. 14, 9), and after retiring from his professorship was made tutor to Domitian's two grand-nephews; receiving perhaps at the same time the *consularia ornamenta*. Martial, ii. 90, addresses him as "gloria Romanae togae." His great work was the *Institutio Oratoria*. Though well off in comparison with other rhetoricians, we know from Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 32, that he was not rich, "te modicum facultatibus scio." Still, what would appear a moderate fortune to the wealthy Pliny, might seem riches to Juvenal.

190. **felix**, "the lucky man, being both fair," etc.

192. **nigrae lunam subtexit alutae.** The senators wore a peculiar kind of boot, which came higher up the leg than others, and was fastened by four thongs. On the front it bore a crescent—perhaps, as has been suggested, the letter C—to represent the original number of 100, as instituted by Romulus. Conf. Mart. ii. 29, "Non hesterna sedet lunata lingula planta." Juvenal means here that with luck a man may rise to be a senator.

193. **iaculator**, a debater. Conf. the expression "torqueat enthymema," *Sat.* vi. 450. Prof. Mayor is surely wrong in taking it to refer to the sports of the Campus Martius.

194. **et si perfrixit**, especially if he has a cold (ironical). Conf. Mart. iii. 18, "Perfrixisse tuas questa est praefatio fauces?"

cantat bene. Another accomplishment with which the lucky man is credited.

Distat, it makes a difference = διαφέρει.

197. **fles de rhetore consul.** Quintilian received the *consularia insignia* from Domitian out of compliment to him as the young princes' tutor. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* iv. 11, "quos tibi Fortuna ludos facis! facis enim ex professoribus senatores, ex senatoribus professores."

199. **Ventidius.** P. Ventidius Bassus, born in Picenum, was taken prisoner in the Social War by the father of Pompey the Great, in whose triumph he was led. He then became a mule-driver. He was ultimately taken up by Julius Caesar, and made tribune, praetor, and consul, and then by M. Antonius, by whom he was sent as general against the Parthians, over whom he celebrated a triumph. See Aul. Gell. xv. 4.

Tullius. Servius Tullius, the sixth Roman king, said to have been born of a slave mother. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 259.

anne aliud, quam, "was it anything else than——"

201. **Servis regna**, referring to Servius Tullius.

captivis . . . triumphum—to Ventidius, see *supra*.

202. **ille.** Quintilian.

203. **vanae sterilisque cathedrae.** Conf. Mart. i. 76, "circum pulpita nostra et steriles cathedras basia sola crepant." *cathedrae* are—(1) sloping chairs, generally used by women; (2) the chairs of the professors or teachers.

204. **Thrasymachi.** Thrasymachus of Chalcedon was one of the Sophists who migrated to Athens, where he enjoyed a considerable reputation. Plato, in the first book of the *Republic*, puts into his mouth certain anti-social doctrines which some

have attributed to the Sophists as a class. The Scholiast says that he hanged himself, but we have no other authority for this.

Secundi Carinatis, a rhetorician banished by Caligula for teaching his class to declaim against tyrants. Dio Cass. 59, 20.

205. **et hunc**, etc. This must refer either (1) to Secundus, who may have been banished to Athens, and there have poisoned himself on account of poverty, or (2) to Socrates, or (3) to some unnamed rhetorician, banished in Juvenal's own time. On the whole I prefer (2), although we should certainly have expected *illum* instead of *hunc*. Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 155; and Pers. iv. 1, "Barbatum haec crede magistrum dicere, sorbitio quem tollit dira cicutae."

206. **ausae**, "which hadst the heart." Conf. the use of τλάω.

207. **Di, maiorum umbris**, etc. Sc. *dent*, as in the phrase "di meliora."

tenuem et sine pondere. So the wish in funeral inscriptions, S.T.T.L. ("sit tibi terra levia"). See Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigr. Lat.* p. 249.

208. **perpetuum ver**, because constantly supplied with flowers.

210. **Metuens virgae.** Conf. *Sat.* v. 154, "metuensque flagelli." Ovid says of Achilles, *Ars Am.* i. 11, "poscente magistro verberibus iussas praebuit ille manus."

iam grandis, though now grown up.

211. **patriis in montibus**, on Mt. Pelion.

et cui, etc., "and was a pupil from whom," etc.

213. **Rufum**, one of the rhetoricians of the day, who was beaten by his own class.

214. **quem totiens Ciceronem Allobroga dixit**, "whom it so often called the Allobrogian Cicero." Rufus was a native of Gaul, where, as we have seen, line 148, oratory was studied. *quem* is the reading of *P.* and *F.*, and must therefore be accepted. The old reading was *qui*, "who so often called Cicero an Allobrogian," implying that Cicero was really the provincial orator, he the true Roman. Both readings make good sense.

215. **Enceladi**, a *grammaticus*, *i.e.* a teaeher of boys at school. See note on i. 15.

Palaemonis. Q. Remnius Palaemon was another grammarian under Tiberius and Claudius. Quintilian and Persius are said to have been his pupils. His school is said to have brought him in "quadringena annua." See Suet. *Gramm.* 23.

216. **grammaticus . . . labor**; and this was severer than that of the rhetoricians, both because they were expected to have

at their fingers' ends every sort of trivial detail (see lines 234-236), and also to look after the behaviour of their classes.

218. **discipuli custos.** The *paedagogus*—who had charge of the boys to and from school, and was hence called *pedisequus puerorum*—was usually a Greek, one of whose duties it was to accustom his charges from an early age to the Greek tongue. They often taught them things less desirable. Conf. x. 117.

Acoenonoetus = ἀκοινονόητος, without common sense. This is a fictitious proper name for the *paedagogus;* but if this is the correct reading, it still needs a satisfactory explanation.

219. **qui dispensat,** the *dispensator* or paymaster. See note on *Sat.* i. 91.

220. **non aliter quam institor;** just as a shopman or hawker abates something of his prices to get custom.

221. **cadurci,** a kind of linen manufactured by the Cadurci, a people of Aquitania.

222. **pereat,** the subject to this is the clause introduced by *quod.*

noctis ab hora. Work in the schools began very early in the morning. Conf. Mart. ix. 69, "Nondum cristati rupere silentia galli, murmure iam saevo verberibusque tonas."

224. **lanam deducere.** For the night work of spinners, conf. Verg. *Georg.* i. 340.

225. **totidem olfecisse lucernas, quot stabant,** etc. Each boy brought a lamp with him to school, and the smell or smoke from all these was suffocating to the teacher, and blackened all the school-books.

227. **Flaccus.** Both Horace and Vergil were used at this time as school manuals. Horace himself says to his book, *Ep.* i. 20, 17, "Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus."

Maroni—Vergil, whose full name was Publius Vergilius Maro (70-19 B.C.)

228. **cognitione tribuni.** Prof. Mayor quotes Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 28, "Simul prohibiti tribuni ius praetorum et consulum praeripere," which proves that under the Empire the tribunes had the right in certain cases of conducting trials. Under the Republic they certainly had none. See also *Sat.* xi. 7.

229. **vos,** you parents.

230. **verborum regula constet,** "that his rule for the use of words should remain constant," *i.e.* that he should never make a slip in grammar.

231. **historias** goes with *omnes.* How voluminous these histories were see from line 100.

233. **thermas.** *thermae* are usually the public baths, such as those of Agrippa, which had *gymnasia*, heated chambers, lecture rooms, and sometimes even libraries, attached to them. The usual hour for bathing was the eighth, though sometimes the weary client could not get to his bath till the tenth. Conf. Mart. x. 70, 13, "Balnea post decimam lasso petuntur."

Phoebi balnea. Phoebus was a private *balneator;* see note on line 4. Other private baths are mentioned by Martial—the Balnea Fortunati, Fausti, Grylli, Lupi, Tigellini.

235. **Anchemoli**, mentioned together with his stepmother in Verg. *Aen.* x. 388.

annis, abl. of duration of time, is common in silver Latin. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 72, and *passim* in funeral inscriptions, "vixit annis xxx.," etc. See Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigr. Lat.* p. 247.

236. **quot Siculus . . . urnas.** Conf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 195. The *urna* = half an *amphora*, and contained four *congii*. There were six *sextarii* in a *congius*, and twelve *cyathi* in a *sextarius*. See note on *Sat.* v. 32.

237. **ducat** is used of beating out gold, sometimes also of moulding wax. Conf. Persius, v. 40, "Artificemque tuo ducit sub pollice vultum."

238. **ut sit . . . pater.** Conf. line 209.

240. **cum se verterit annus.** The fees in the better schools were paid annually, probably after the Quinquatria in March. See *Sat.* x. 115. At the lower country schools the fees would seem to have been paid monthly on the Ides. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 75, "octonos referentes Idibus aeris."

241. **accipe, victori populus quod postulat, aurum.** On this the Scholiast says, "ut in theatro solent petere, quinque aureos nam non licebat amplius dare." A recently found Spanish inscription (*Ephem. Epigr.* vii. 388 foll.) enables us to explain and correct this statement. From this it appears that the price paid by an *editor* to the *lanista* for an ordinary gladiator was 2000 sesterces. But it was usual for the *editor* in addition to this sum to pay to the victorious gladiator himself 500 sesterces if he was a freeman, *i.e.* "auctoratus," or 400 sesterces if he was a slave, "ita observandum ut praecipuum mercedis gladiator sibi quisquis pacisoatur, eius pecuniae quae ob hano causam excipiebatur, quartam portionem liber, servus autem quintam excipiat." What the Scholiast therefore intended, and what probably Juvenal really means, is that in the amphitheatre the *editor* was called upon by the spectators to pay each victorious gladiator the sum of 5 or 4 aurei (the aureus = 100 sesterces) according as he was a freeman or a slave.

SATIRE VIII

1. **Stemmata**, pedigrees. The noble Romans used to have in the *atrium* of their houses waxen masks representing their ancestors. These *imagines*, as they were called, were placed inside wooden frames, and hung up side by side along the *alae* of the apartment. Connecting them with one another were festoons or garlands of flowers (*stemmata*), and these occasionally gave their name to the whole. Conf. Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 2, 2. "Expressi cera vultus singulis disponebantur armariis—stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas;" Mart. iv. 48, "Atria Pisonum stabant cum stemmate toto." In later times these waxen figures were replaced by marble busts. Seneca says, "Nobilem non facit atrium plenum fumosis imaginibus."

2. **sanguine censeri.** Conf. Mart. viii. 6, "Hi duo longaevo censentur Nestore fundi," "to take rank by a long line of ancestry." So "iustitia censeri," Val. Max. 5, 7, and Tac. *Agric.* 45. See also below, line 74.

pictos . . . vultus, *i.e.* the waxen masks which were painted to represent the life. At funerals these masks were taken down and worn by men representing the various ancestors. The *imagines* of any one disgraced by the state or emperor were taken down and broken. *Ius imaginum* was the patent of nobility.

3. **in curribus.** See *Sat.* vii. 125. The younger Scipio was P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus. He belonged to the *gens Aemilia*, but was adopted by Scipio the elder. He died in 129 B.C.

4. **Curios**, *e.g.* M. Curius Dentatus, who conquered Pyrrhus (275 B.C.)

5. **Corvinum**—M. Valerius Corvus, the hero of the encounter with the Gallic champion (349 B.C.) Conf. *Sat.* i. 108.

Galbam. The Emperor Servius Sulpicius Galba (68-69 A.D.). Suetonius, *Galb.* 2, tells us, "in atrio stemma proposuit, quo paternam originem ad Iovem referebat." He belonged to one of the noblest families in Rome, Plut. *Galb.* 3.

6. **generis tabula . . . capaci**, a wide genealogical chart.

7. **Corvinum**, etc. This is a very suspicious line, and is probably not genuine. The repetition of Corvinus is awkward, and the expression "multa . . . virga" obscure.

multa virga. I should take this as an ablative of quality with "fumosos equitum . . . magistros," "with many a staff of office," in which sense Ovid, *Trist.* v. 6, 32, uses the word,

"quos praetexta verendos virgaque cum verbis imperiosa facit." See also *infra*, 23.

contingere, "to be related to." Conf. *Sat.* xi. 62, and Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6, 52. This is the reading of the best MSS., and has now supplanted the old reading *deducere.*

8. **fumosos**, because there was a hearth in the *atrium*, which possibly in olden days may have been used for the kitchen.

9. **Lepidis.** The Lepidi were an illustrious branch of the *gens Aemelia.* Juvenal would assert the principle "noblesse oblige."

effigies quo; sc. *habes.* Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 56, 135; xv. 61.

10. **alea.** See *Sat.* i. 88; and Persius, v. 17, "hunc alea decoquit."

11. **Numantinos**, the generalising use of the plural. Scipio the younger was called Numantinus from his capture of Numantia in Spain (133 B.C.) Conf. Plin. *Ep.* viii. 6.

si dormire incipis ortu Luciferi. Banquets were often continued by the gay throughout the night. Lucifer is the morning star. Conf. Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 17, "Nascere praeque diem veniens age Lucifer almum."

12. **quo**, *i.e. ortu.*

13. **Allobrogicis.** Fabius Maximus, consul 121 B.C., was called Allobrogicus from his victory over the Allobroges. Liv. *Epit.* lxi.

magna . . . ara. Near the Circus Flaminius there was an altar, called "Maxima ara," sacred to Hercules. Vergil, *Aen.* viii. 271, says that Evander built it to commemorate the conquest over Cacus. *Sat.* v. 125. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 41.

14. **natus in Herculeo Fabius Lare.** The Fabian *gens* was said to be descended from Hercules. Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 237, speaks of "Herculeae gentis."

15. **Euganea . . . mollior agna.** The Euganei once lived between the Alps and the sea. One of the towns in that district, Altinum, is mentioned by Martial, xiv. 155, as famous for its wool.

16. **attritus Catinensi pumice.** Catana was a town near Mount Aetna; the *pumex* was a kind of stone thrown up by the volcano, and used, as Pliny says, *H. N.* xxxvi. 154, "in usu corporum levandorum."

17. **squalentes traducit avos**, "disgraces his shaggy ancestors." *squalentes* is in contrast with *tenerum.* For *traducit*, see *Sat.* vii. 16 and xi. 31.

18. **frangenda . . . imagine**, because, if convicted of poison-

ing, his image would be broken and his family thereby disgraced. See note on line 2, and conf. the case of Seianus described in *Sat.* x. 58 *seq.* Conf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 14.

19. **veteres . . . cerae . . . atria.** See notes on lines 1 and 2. Friedländer illustrates, by Tac. *Ann.* iii. 23, how the sentiments here expressed by Juvenal were opposed to popular ideas. Aemilia Lepida, a woman notorious for her crimes, when prosecuted, won the sympathy of all because she was a member of the Aemilian *gens* and a descendant of Sulla and Pompeius.

21. **Paulus, Cossus, Drusus**; names belonging to some of the most illustrious *gentes* at Rome. Drusus was a stepson of Augustus, brother of Tiberius, and father of Germanicus. On Cossus, see *Sat.* iii. 184.

22. **hos,** *i.e. mores;* so also *illi* in the next line. Pliny (*Ep.* v. 17) is anxious "ne nobiles nostri nihil in domibus suis pulchrum nisi imagines habeant."

24. **mihi debes,** you owe to me, *i.e.* you must show me.

25. **iustitiaeque tenax.** Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 3, "propositi tenacem."

26. **agnosco procerem,** "I recognise your nobility." For the question put as the protasis, conf. *Sat.* iii. 100, "Rides, maiore cachinno concutitur."

Gaetulice, referring to the Cossus mentioned above. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Cossus under Augustus gained this name (consul, 1 B.C.)

27. **Silanus** belonged to the *Iunia gens.* See Tac. *Ann.* iii. 24.

29. **populus quod clamat, Osiri invento.** Apis or Osiris, worshipped under the form of a bull, was killed by Tryphon. Isis, his sister, with her attendants and the dog-headed Anubis, sought for him with tears and lamentations till they found the body, when they exclaimed: *εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν.* The representation of this was kept up as part of the Egyptian worship annually. Conf. Tibull. vii. 28, "atque suum pubes miratur Osirim barbara Memphiten plangere docta bovem."

30. **generosum** = *εὐγενής*; and so, contrasted with *indignus genere, est* must be supplied after *qui.*

32. **Nanum,** a dwarf. It was not an uncommon thing under the Empire for dwarfs, *pumiliones,* to be kept by the rich. "Atlas" was a usual nickname for them. Conf. Mart. vi. 77, "Non aliter monstratur Atlas cum compare ginno." Vergil describes Atlas (*Aen.* iv. 246) as "maximus."

36. **si quid adhuc est,** whatever else there is.

38. **sic,** *i.e.* as the dwarf is called Atlas: ironically.

Creticus, one of the Metelli, gained the *agnomen* of Creticus on account of his conquest of Crete in B.C. 66.

Camerinus. See note on *Sat.* vii. 90.

39. **Rubelli Blande.** This is the grandson of the Rubellius Blandus who married Iulia the granddaughter of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 27), and son of Rubellius Plautus, mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 22, "omnium ore Rubellius Plautus celebratur, cui nobilitas per matrem ex Iulia familia." He was perhaps vain and boastful of his illustrious race; at any rate, he is taken as an example of a titled nonentity.

40. **Drusorum stemmate.** The brother and son of Tiberius were both named Drusus. On *stemmate*, see line 1.

42. **ut te conciperet.** *ut* must go closely with *feceris aliquid* "to deserve that."

quae sanguine fulget Iuli. Iulia was really the grandmother, not the mother, of this Rubellius Blandus, so that *conciperet* = "should be your ancestress." It seems unnecessary to suppose with Weidner that a brother of Rubellius Plautus is meant, who could not have been a contemporary of Juvenal.

43. **ventoso . . . sub aggere.** The *agger* of Servius Tullius, on which see note to *Sat.* v. 153. Juvenal says, in *Sat.* vi. 588, "Plebeium in Circo positum est et in aggere fatum."

conducta . . . texit, weaves for hire.

46. **Cecropides.** Cecrops was the first king of Athens. It is here used simply for an example of ancient birth. Conf. "Troiugenas," *Sat.* i. 100. **Vivas**, long may you live.

47. **Quiritem.** Vergil, *Aen.* vii. 710, uses the word *Quirites* of inhabitants of Cures, a Sabine town which was incorporated with Rome. It was applied to the Roman citizens in their civil as opposed to their military capacity. The probable derivation is from *quiris*, a Sabine word for a spear.

49. **nobilis indocti.** Conf. "dives avarus," vii. 30; "veteres caecos," vii. 170; "dubii aegri," xiii. 124.

de plebe togata. The *toga* was a distinguishing mark not only of the clients (see note on *Sat.* i. 96) and of the advocate class, but also of civilians as opposed to the military. So Martial, ii. 90, calls Quintilian "Romanae gloria togae." Tacitus also says, *Ann.* xi. 7, that the *plebs* gained their distinction by the *toga*—"Cogitaret plebem quae toga enitesceret." See also line 240.

51. **petit Euphraten**, to serve against the Parthians.

domitique Batavi. The Batavians, a German tribe who had lately rebelled under Civilis, and had been subdued by Vespasian.

52. **custodes aquilas**, *i.e.* the legions of Lower Germany.

53. **truncoque simillimus Hermae**, like a mere bust, without hands or feet. At Athens statues of Hermes were frequently placed over the doors of private houses and in public places. The sudden and mysterious mutilation of all these Hermae just before the Sicilian Expedition threw the whole city into excitement.

58. **facili cui . . .**, "who with easily-won palm enjoys the excitement of many a victory," etc.

59. **rauco . . . circo.** Conf. *Sat.* xi. 197, "Totam hodie Romam circus capit et fragor aurem percutit," and ix. 144, "clamosus circus."

61. **primus in aequore pulvis**, "whose cloud of dust is first in the course." In spite of the water thrown down between the races, the Circus was one huge cloud of dust. Conf. Hor. *Od.* i. 1, "Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum collegisse iuvat."

62. **venale pecus**, a mere herd, fit for the market.

Coryphaei. The reading of *P.* is *Coryte; Coryphaei* is proved to be the right reading by S. Coryphaeus is the name of a famous horse.

63. **Hirpini.** Another horse mentioned by Mart. iii. 63, "Hirpini veteres qui bene novit avos." The various factions were very careful about preserving the genealogies of their horses, but, as the next line shows, birth was nothing if unaccompanied by merit.

65. **dominos . . . mutare**, *i.e.* to be sold.

66. **epiredia.** Probably some kind of car, or possibly, as the Scholiast explains it, "harness." Quintilian says of the word, i. 5, "Nam cum sit praepositio ἐπί Graeca, reda Gallicum, . . . Romani suum ex alieno utroque fecerunt."

67. **nepotes**, their descendants.

69. **titulis**, the inscriptions underneath the statues placed in the *atrium;* see *Sat.* i. 130.

71. **iuvenem.** Rubellius Blandus.

fama, his illustrious name.

72. **tradit**, presents to us.

plenumque Nerone propinquo. He was related to Nero through Iulia, his grandmother; see note on line 39.

73. **sensus communis**, common human sympathy (conf. the expression "vita communis," social life).

74. **censeri laude tuorum.** Conf. "sanguine censeri," line 2.

75. **noluerim.** The perf. potential implies a *sententia modeste expressa.* Conf. "crediderim," "haud affirmaverim."

sic, ut = *ea conditione ut.*

78. **viduas . . . ulmos.** Contrast with this the expression of Horace, "caelebs platanus." The plane-trees were never used for training vines.

desiderat, feels the want of.

79. **tutor bonus.** A *tutor* was the legal guardian of a *pupillus*, whose property he managed until he became *sui iuris.* See *Sat.* i. 39.

arbiter, a person chosen to decide a dispute in private, according to rules of equity; while the *iudices* decided in public on the legal merits of the question.

81. **Phalaris . . . admoto . . . tauro.** Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, invented a hollow brazen bull, into which his victims were put, and which was then heated. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 3, "nec vultus instantis tyranni mente quatit solida," and *Sat.* vi. 48, "praefectura domus Sicula non mitior aula"; Hor. *Ep.* i. 2, 58, "invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni maius tormentum."

85. **Dignus morte perit,** "he who deserves to die is dead."

ostrea . . . Gaurana—oysters from the Lucrine lake, close behind which rose the Gaurani Montes. Conf. *Sat.* iv. 140, "Lucrinum ad saxum."

86. **Cosmi**, a perfumer, frequently alluded to in Martial. Conf. Mart. xi. 8, "Quod Cosmi redolent alabastra focique deorum."

87. **Exspectata diu.** A provincial government was looked forward to by a large number of candidates as a means of making their fortunes by all sorts of extortion.

88. **rectorem**, *i.e.* a *legatus* if an imperial province, a *proconsul* if a senatorial.

90. **ossa vides rerum**, etc., "You see a world's bones sucked dry and their marrow gone."

91. **leges**, *e.g.* *lex Calpurnia; Acilia; Iulia de repetundis.*

93. **Capito.** Cossutianus Capito was a son-in-law of Tigellinus; he was made *legatus* of Cilicia, and was accused and convicted of *repetundae* (57 A.D.)—Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 33, and xiv. 48.

Numitor; see *Sat.* vii. 94. Apparently he was also a *legatus* of Cilicia.

94. **piratae Cilicum**, *i.e.* using against the Cilicians their own weapons, for they were notorious pirates; "out-pirating Cilicians."

quid damnatio confert? As in the case of Marius Priscus, *Sat.* i. 50, it was "iudicium inane."

95. **Pansa . . . Natta**—fictitious names for provincial governors.

96. **Praeconem, Chaerippe**, etc. The wretched provincial is advised to look for some auctioneer to sell his scanty rags for him before they are taken away.

97. **post omnia perdere naulum**, to lose your passage-money, *i.e.* by a fruitless journey to Rome. *Legati* from Cilicia had caused the condemnation of Capito, but then his successor was just as bad.

98. **Non idem gemitus olim.** Juvenal takes an unfairly pessimistic view of the state of the provinces, which had immensely improved in every respect since the Republican days. Bad provincial governors like Capito could always be accused by the provincial *concilia* under the *lex de repetundis*, and the *Annals* of Tacitus show that such accusations usually resulted in condemnation.

101. **Spartana chlamys.** The Laconian purple dye ranked next after the Tyrian. Conf. the expression, "Tyrias lacernas," *Sat.* i. 27. Conf. Hor. *Od.* ii. 18, 7.

conchylia Coa. Transparent silk garments, *bombycinae vestes*, were woven and dyed in the island of Cos. The *conchylia* were the pale diluted purple as opposed to the dark full tints of the Tyrian—Becker's *Gallus*, p. 447. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iv. 13, 13.

102. **Parrhasii tabulis.** Parrhasius was a famous painter, born at Ephesus about 450 B.C., and a contemporary of Zeuxis, the story of his contest with whom is well known.

signisque Myronis. Myron was a sculptor, born somewhat earlier than Parrhasius. His statues were much prized, and many were carried away to Rome by Verres and others like him. Conf. Mart. viii. 51, "Quis labor in phiala? docti Myos anne Myronis?" His masterpiece was "The Cow," conf. Ov. *Pont.* iv. 1, 34.

103. **Pheidiacum vivebat ebur**—Pheidias (490-433 B.C.), the great contemporary and friend of Pericles, and the sculptor of the famous statue of Zeus at Olympia. On the lifelike appearance of his work conf. Mart. iii. 35, "Artis Pheidiacae toreuma clarum: pisces aspicis: adde aquam, natabunt." Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 848.

ebur. Many of the original statues were chryselephantine, *i.e.* of ivory and gold; *e.g.* the statue of Zeus at Olympia, of Athene on the Parthenon, etc. Later copies were of marble.

Polycliti, another statuary of the same age (452-412 B.C.) Quintilian says of him, "diligentia ac decor in Polyclito supra ceteros: deorum tamen auctoritatem non explevit." Conf. also Cic. *in Verr.* iv. 5.

104. **Mentore**, an artistic embosser in silver. Silver cups of

his workmanship were highly prized. L. Crassus, the orator, gave 100,000 sesterces for two of them. Conf. Mart. ix. 60, "Pocula Mentorea nobilitata manu," and iii. 41.

105. **Dolabellae.** The Dolabellae enjoyed an unenviable notoriety in this respect. A Cn. Dolabella who was proconsul of Macedonia was accused of *repetundae* by Caesar in 77 B.C. (Suet. *Caes.* 4), but acquitted. Another Cn. Dolabella was governor of Cilicia, with Verres as his legate, and was accused in 78 B.C. by Scaurus and condemned (Cic. *in Verr.* i. 95). Lastly, P. Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law, was propraetor of Syria, and on his way to that province plundered the province of Asia.

Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the consulship, 63 B.C. He was afterwards governor of Macedonia, accused of *repetundae* by C. Caesar, and defended, but unsuccessfully, by Cicero.

106. **sacrilegus Verres.** See note on *Sat.* iii. 53. He was propraetor of Sicily, 73-70 B.C., which province he shamefully oppressed. The plunder of temples was one favourite mode of enriching himself; hence the epithet "sacrilegus." See Cicero's Speech *passim*, esp. Act i. § 14. Conf. *Sat.* ii. 25, "Quis caelum terris non misceat et mare caelo si fur displiceat Verri, homicida Miloni?"

107. **occulta spolia.** For the lengthening of *a* before *sp*, conf. Vergil's "date tela, scandite muros."

plures, more than others gained in war. Weidner takes it as nom., and *de pace* very strangely as = *de pacatis*.

110. **ipsi deinde Lares.** When everything most valuable was taken, even the figures of the household gods would be carried off from their niches (*aediculae*) in the *atrium*.

signum, bust. Conf. *supra*, "signis Myronis."

111. **in aedicula,** a little cupboard or niche in the *atrium*. Conf. Tibull. i. 10, 20, "Stabat in exigua ligneus aede deus."

unicus, the only one left.

112. **tu,** *i.e.* the provincial governor.

113. **imbelles Rhodios.** The Rhodians had much degenerated from their former character, and were now effeminate and luxurious. Rhodes is coupled with Miletus and Tarentum in *Sat.* vi. 296, "hinc et Rhodos et Miletos, atque coronatum et petulum madidumque Tarentum."

unctamque Corinthum, "Corinth with its unguents," which are here intended to stand for luxury generally. The luxury of the later days of Corinth is notorious; as also is the immense quantity of spoil brought to Rome by Mummius on the capture of Corinth. Horace uses "captiva Corinthus" for the spoils of any city brought to Rome, *Ep.* ii. 1, 193.

114. **resinata iuventus.** The resin was the exudation from certain trees. Pliny says, *H. N.* xiv. 20, "resina omnis oleo dissolvitur: pudetque confiteri maximum iam honorem eius esse in evellendis a virorum corporibus pilis." Conf. line 16.

116. **Horrida . . . Hispania.** Spain was not thoroughly conquered so early as Gaul. Horace speaks of the Cantabrian "indoctum ferre iugum." By Trajan's time, however, the province was thoroughly Romanised, and had produced literary men of the first rank: *e.g.* Seneca, Lucan, Martial, Quintilian.

Gallicus axis. The Gauls frequently rose against Iulius Caesar, and after his time made rebellions headed by Sacrovir and Florus, and by Vindex in 68 A.D.

117. **Illyricumque latus.** The Republican province of Illyricum was now divided into Pannonia and Dalmatia. Both needed a large military force, but especially the former, from which the middle Danube had to be defended against the barbarians.

messoribus illis—the Africans, from whom came the largest quantity of corn to Rome. Conf. *Sat.* v. 119, "Tibi habe frumentum . . . O Libye."

118. **saturant,** "fill the stomachs of." Conf. xiv. 166.

circo scenaeque vacantem, "which employs all its time in the circus and theatre." The agricultural population of Italy had either died out or had migrated to swell the city mob, which the emperors found it advisable to keep perpetually amused. Conf. *Sat.* iii. 223, x. 81, xi. 53; and Tac. *Hist.* i. 4, "plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta."

120. **Marius.** See note on *Sat.* i. 50.

discinxerit, "has stripped to their girdle."

125. **non est sententia,** "is no mere maxim or commonplace." *sententiae* or *maximae sententiae* (hence our word maxim), answering to the Greek *τόποι* or *τοπικοὶ λόγοι*, were general propositions, admittedly true, serving as the basis on which to found an argument. Quintilian calls them the "supellectilem" of a speech.

126. **folium recitare Sibyllae.** For the Sibyl, see *Sat.* iii. 3. She wrote her prophecies on leaves which were blown away by the wind. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 74, "foliis tantum ne carmina manda ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis." The Sibylline books at Rome, preserved in the Capitol under the charge of *decemviri*, were consulted at the advice of the *pontifices* in times of danger.

128. **Acersecomes**=ἀκερσεκόμης, unshorn—Hom. *Il.* xx. 39. Favourite slaves always wore their hair long, and often elaborately curled. Conf. Mart. ii. 57, "Quem grex sequitur togatus

et capillatus"; iii. 58, 30, "lascivi parere gaudent vilico capillati." Contrast with this Juvenal's closely cropped boy in *Sat.* xi. 149.

nullum in coniuge crimen. See the debate in the senate (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 33) as to whether provincial governors should be allowed to have their wives with them. Pliny mentions that Casta, wife of Caecilius Classicus, proconsul of Baetica, was involved in the malpractices of her husband.

129. **per conventus.** The *conventus* were districts into which the provinces were divided for judicial purposes, in each of which there was a town where the governor held his tribunal.

130. **Celaeno** was one of the Harpies. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* iii. 245 and 216, "Una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno . . . Virginei volucrum vultus, foedissima ventris proluvies, uncaeque manus."

131. **a Pico,** an ancient king of Italy and son of Saturn. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 48.

132. **omnem Titanida pugnam.** The abstract put for the concrete. The Titans, sons of earth, belonged to the older race of gods, while Jupiter and the rest were the younger generation, who had ousted them from Olympus.

133. **ipsumque Promethea.** Prometheus was one of the Titans, and the most famous. See note on *Sat.* iv. 133, where he is represented as a potter. He stole fire from heaven and gave it to men; he is also represented as having taught them the arts of life, and by a later tradition as having created them out of clay.

134. **de quocunque voles . . . libro,** from any story you like.

136. **virgas,** *i.e.* of your lictors.

sociorum in sanguine. Roman citizens were protected from this punishment by the *lex Portia.*

139. **claramque facem praeferre.** Conf. Sall. *Iugurth.* 85, "maiorum gloria posteris quasi lumen est."

142. **Quo mihi te,** sc. *iactas.* See note on line 9.

falsas signare tabellas. Conf. *Sat.* i. 67.

143. **in templis.** The temples were used as banks, where money, as well as such documents as wills, were kept. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 260, "ponendi ad Castora nummi," *i.e.* the temple of Castor and Pollux. Prof. Mayor quotes the *Digest*, xliii. 5, 3, 3, "si custodiam tabularum . . . aedituus suscepit."

statuamque parentis ante triumphalem. See note on *Sat.* i. 129.

144. **quo,** *i.e. te iactas.*

145. **Santonico . . . cucullo.** The Santones were a Gallic tribe which sent woollen manufactures to Rome. Conf. Mart. xiv.

128, "Gallia Santonico vestit te bardocucullo." The *cucullus* was worn by persons desirous of concealment, and also in the country, see *Sat.* iii. 170, and vi. 118, "nocturnos cucullos." Otherwise the head was usually uncovered.

146. **Praeter maiorum cineres,** *i.e.* along the Flaminian or Appian or Latin Road; see note on *Sat.* i. 171.

147. **carpento,** a two-wheeled carriage of luxurious make; it was very frequently used by women. Conf. Ov. *Fast.* i. 6, 19, "nec prius Ausonias matres carpenta vehebant."

Lateranus. A. Plautius Lateranus was expelled from the senate in 48 A.D., then restored by Nero in 55 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 11). He was *consul designatus* in 65 A.D., and in the same year joined Piso's conspiracy (*id.* xv. 49). But a T. Sextius Magius Lateranus was consul in 94 A.D., and so in Domitian's reign. Possibly the latter is intended here.

148. **sufflamine mulio consul.** This, certainly the true reading, has now been restored from the Florilegium Sangallense and the Scholiast instead of the traditional *multo sufflamine.* The collocation of substantives is thoroughly Juvenalian. Conf. "citharoedo principe, mimus nobilis," viii. 198; "parasitus infans," v. 145; "meretrix Augusta," vi. 118; "remigibus porcis," xv. 22; "captatore macello," vi. 40; "filia virgo"; "leo alumnus," xiv. 247.

150. **tempus honoris.** The consulship was usually conferred for four months, sometimes only for two.

152. **amici iam senis.** His friend being an old man ought to have inspired Lateranus with some shame, but he unblushingly gives him the professional coachman's salute.

153. **virga prior adnuet.** Conf. *Sat.* iii. 318, "mulio virga adnuit."

155. **robumque,** an archaic word = *robustum.*

156. **more Numae,** according to the institution of Numa. See note on *Sat.* iii. 12.

Iovis ante altaria, in the temple on the Capitol, where the consuls sacrificed on entering on their office.

157. **Eponam,** a goddess propitious to horses and grooms, Wilm. 2282. Possibly a Celtic goddess.

facies . . . pictas, rough paintings of Epona and similar subjects on the walls of the stables.

158. **pervigiles.** Conf. *Sat.* xv. 43, "pervigili toro," and iii. 275, "vigiles fenestrae."

instaurare, to visit again and again.

popinas, cook-shops. Cooked meats and drinks were sold at

them. Originally they were frequented only by the lowest classes, conf. lines 172-3; but they afterwards became the resorts of the most disreputable and riotous of the higher classes, conf. Cic. *in Pis.* 5, 13. See also *Sat.* xi. 81.

159. **Syrophoenix.** Phoenice, including Tyre, Damascus, and Palmyra, was a part of the province of Syria, but to distinguish it from Coele Syria (Συρία κοίλη) it was called Syrophoenicia. Conf. St. Mark vii. 26.

160. **Idumaeae . . . incola portae,** "a native of the Idumaean pass." Conf. "porta Syenes," xi. 124. Idumaea stretched between Judaea and Arabia. Some take it to refer to one of the gates of Rome called "Idumaea," owing to the fact that Titus entered by it on his return from the capture of Jerusalem, 70 A.D. *porta Idumaea* can hardly be the triumphal arch of Titus, as Prof. Mayor suggests, since this was *arcus* not *porta*, and not in a low part of the city.

161. **hospitis adfectu,** with the air of a host.

dominum regemque. Conf. *Sat.* v. 137. "Domine" was getting to be an ordinary salutation for the upper classes. Conf. Mart. i. 113, "Cum te non nossem dominum regemque vocabam."

162. **succincta.** Conf. *Sat.* iv. 24. **lagona.** Conf. *Sat.* v. 29.

164. **nempe** here means "just so, but." It is used in dialogue to affirm what the last speaker has said.

166. **cum . . . prima barba.** See note on "ille metit barbam," iii. 186.

168. **thermarum calices,** drinking-bouts in the baths. The *thermae* were provided not only with *gymnasia*, etc. (*Sat.* vii. 233), but also with refreshment rooms, where dissolute young nobles drank freely. See Mart. xii. 70, 6, "sobrius a thermis nescit abire domum," etc.

inscriptaque lintea are the awnings over the shops, with the articles offered for sale inscribed upon them.

169. **tuendis amnibus** goes with *maturus.* The Euphrates frontier was protected against the Parthians by the legions of Cappadocia and Syria.

170. **Rheno,** sc. *tuendo.* After the time of Tiberius the Rhine was practically the boundary of the Roman Empire. Drusus and Germanicus had penetrated beyond, but the perpetual risings induced subsequent emperors to change their policy of advance in that direction.

Istro. Legions were permanently stationed in Moesia and Pannonia, to keep the Dacians and other barbarian tribes on their own side of the river.

Neronem. This does not fix the date of the satire. Nero is used for any emperor, perhaps for Domitian. Conf. *Sat.* iv. 38.

171. **haec aetas,** *i.e.* of Lateranus.

Mitte Ostia, send your general to Ostia, *i.e.* the port at the mouth of the Tiber from which a fleet would start.

172. **legatum,** the governors of imperial provinces, *i.e.* those especially on the frontiers which needed a legionary force, were "legati Augusti pro praetore"; the governors of all senatorial provinces were proconsuls.

174. **fugitivis,** runaway slaves. See *Sat.* iv. 50.

175. **carnifices,** literally "executioners," but used generally as a term of reproach, especially to slaves, "rascals."

sandapilarum, cheap biers on which the poor were carried out to burial. It was considered degrading to contract for public funerals at all, *Sat.* iii. 32; how much more so actually to make the coffins!

176. **resupinati . . . Galli**—"of a priest of Cybele stretched on his back." The worship and image of Cybele, the mother of the gods, was introduced to Rome from Galatia. Conf. note on *Sat.* iii. 138. Her priests were called Corybantes (see *Sat.* v. 25), or, from the original seat of the worship, Galli.

tympana, cymbals. Conf. Hor. *Od.* i. 16, 8, "non acuta sic geminant Corybantes aera."

177. **lectus non alius cuiquam,** "no special couch for any one." For the arrangement of the *triclinium* and the usual places of honour, see note on *Sat.* v. 17.

178. **mensa remotior ulli,** "nor has any one a table placed aloof," *i.e.* from the commoner sort of guests.

180. **Nempe,** why, of course. Conf. *supra,* line 164.

in Lucanos, sc. *agros colendos.* Slaves, as a punishment, were made to work in the country. Conf. Ter. *Phorm.* 250, where Davus says, "molendumst in pistrino, vapulandum . . . opus ruri faciundum."

Tusca ergastula. The *ergastula* were buildings in the country, often underground, where the gangs of slaves were shut up at night, who by day worked in the fields chained together on their masters' *latifundia.* This was especially the case in Etruria. Conf. Mart. ix. 23, "Et sonet innumera compede Tuscus ager"; *Sat.* xi. 80, "in magna . . . compede fossor," and xiv. 24; and Tac. *Ann.* iv. 27.

182. **Cerdoni.** See notes on *Sat.* iv. 13 and 153.

Volesos. The Volesi were a Sabine family who came to Rome with T. Tatius. Livy mentions a Volesus who was father of P. Valerius Publicola.

Brutum. Junius Brutus, the expeller of Tarquin.

185. **Damasippe,** some spendthrift noble reduced to act on the stage. The name is probably taken from Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3.

vocem . . . locasti sipario, "let your voice on hire to the mimic stage." *siparium* was the curtain used in mimes, on which see *Sat.* v. 157. The more general name for the stage curtain was *aulaeum.*

186. **clamosum ageres ut Phasma Catulli.** Catullus was a writer of mimes under Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, and is mentioned again in *Sat.* xiii. 111. *Phasma* was the title of one of his mimes. The ghost was perhaps represented as shrieking or gibbering, which would explain the epithet *clamosum.*

187. **Laureolum,** the title of another and very well known mimic piece, also by Catullus. Laureolus was a slave, or, as others say, the captain of a gang of robbers, and was crucified on the stage. On one occasion a condemned criminal was made to play the part and was really crucified. Conf. Mart. *Spect.* vii., "Non falsa pendens in cruce Laureolus." The piece was acted on the day of Caligula's murder, on which occasion the blood was imitated with horrible realism. Joseph. *Ant. Iud.* 19, 1, and Suet. *Calig.* 57.

Lentulus, another noble.

188. **dignus vera cruce,** because it was disgraceful for a noble to act on the stage, especially in such a piece and under such a character.

189. **populi frons durior.** It ought to cause the people more shame than these degenerate nobles, but it causes them less. *durior,* "more brazen-faced still."

190. **triscurria patriciorum,** the low buffooneries of the patricians. The prefix *tri* is intensive, as in the words *trifur, trifurcifer, trivenifica, trismegistus,* etc.

191. **planipedes audit Fabios.** In the mimes the actors wore neither the *cothurnus* of tragedy, nor the *soccus* of comedy, but appeared barefooted. This is what is meant by *planipedes.* See Dio Cass. 61, 17, and Tac. *Hist.* iii. 62, where Fabius Valens "sponte mimos actitavit."

192. **Mamercorum.** The Mamerci were said to be derived from Mamercus, a son of Numa Pompilius; they belonged to the Aemilian *gens.*

alapas. The Mamerci, acting as the *stupidi* (buffoons) of the mime, would be treated as such. Conf. note on *Sat.* v. 171, and Mart. v. 61, "o quam dignus eras alapis, Mariane, Latini."

Quanti sua funera vendant, "at what price they sell their lives." It is evidently the same thing to say that a person sells his death or sells his life.

193. **nullo cogente Nerone.** Suetonius, *Ner.* 12, relates that on one occasion Nero compelled 400 senators and 600 equites to contend in the arena. See also Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 14. In Juvenal's time, however, the nobles did it for the love of the thing, which had become a depraved taste.

194. **nec dubitant celsi praetoris vendere ludis.** There is a difficulty here, because the praetors only presided at the *ludi Circenses*, see *Sat.* x. 36 foll., whereas the context proves that Juvenal is here alluding to gladiatorial shows, and the only magistrates who were bound to give these were the quaestors. See Suet. *Claud.* 21; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 22. As, however, the *cura ludorum* generally was handed over to the praetors (Dio Cass. 54, 2), and as the *ludi Circenses* were much more frequent than the gladiatorial shows, Juvenal's inaccuracy may easily be explained.

195. **Finge tamen,** etc. is opposed to *nullo cogente Nerone;* but supposing that there is compulsion, who ought to hesitate to prefer death to dishonour?

gladios of course are the swords of the tyrant, with which he threatens death to the disobedient.

196. **quid satius**; *quid—utrum.*

197. **zelotypus Thymeles,** the jealous husband of Thymele, who was a *mima,* and mentioned in *Sat.* i. 36. Her husband was Latinus; but the jealous husband here is one of the characters of the mime, which often had for its plot the relations between husband and wife. Conf. Mart. i. 92, "nec me zelotypum nec dixeris esse malignum."

stupidi. The *stupidus,* or clown, was a stock character in the mime. Corinthus was a *mimus* who took this part.

198. **citharoedo principe,** with special reference to Nero. See Suet. *Ner.* 20, etc. Juvenal, according to his custom, reflects on former times, or uses them as screens behind which to attack the present state of things. See note on line 148.

mimus. See note on *Sat.* v. 157.

199. **quid erit nisi ludus,** "what will there be except the gladiatorial school?" There was *ludus literarius,* and also *ludus gladiatorius.* The disgrace of appearing in the arena was even greater than that of acting in a mime, and yet Gracchus incurs even that. Mr. Macleane mistakes the passage and translates, "After this what shall we have at Rome but shows?"

Et illic dedecus nobis habes, "and there (*i.e.* in the *ludus*) you have the disgrace of the city."

200. **murmillonis in armis.** The Murmillones were nearly identical with the Galli, and were gladiators heavily armed, like the Gallic warriors. They were usually opposed to the *retiarius*, who aimed his net at the fish fixed on the helmet of the *murmillo*, from which his name is probably derived. If Gracchus had been armed as a *murmillo*, he at least would not have been so easily recognised.

201. **nec clipeo . . . pugnantem.** This refers to the Samnites, who carried a large oblong shield, as well as a short straight sword, and a helmet with lofty plume. See note on *Sat.* iii. 158. The Samnite was also opposed to the *retiarius*, hence called *pinnirapus*.

aut falce supina. This "scimitar" was the distinguishing mark of the Thraces, who also carried a small round shield (*parma*).

202. **[et damnat et odit . . . abscondit.]** I put these words in brackets because, in addition to the weakness of "et damnat et odit," the following words seem only a repetition. These different kinds of gladiators have been referred to by "murmillonis in armis," "clipeo," or "falce supina," but the helmet was common to all these.

203. **movet ecce tridentem,** *i.e.* he appeared as a *retiarius*, who wore a short tunic only, a belt (*balteus*), and for arms carried a trident or *fuscina*, and a net (*rete*), whence his name. His mode of fighting was to attempt to throw the net over the helmet of his opponent, the Murmillo or Samnite; if he succeeded he despatched him with the trident; if he failed he ran round the arena, followed by his adversary, until he could collect the net for another throw.

204. **librata dextra,** "with his right hand poised on high."

205. **ad spectacula,** to the spectators: **erigit,** because they were raised in tiers of seats high above the arena.

207. **Credamus, tunicae de faucibus,** etc. "Let us believe our eyes, since from the throat of the tunic," etc. The tunica, a sort of close-fitting vest, was one of the distinguishing marks of the *retiarius*. Conf. Suet. *Calig.* 30, "retiarii tunicati." Others put the comma after *tunicae*. Conf. *Sat.* ii. 143 *seq.*, "Vicit et hoc monstrum tunicati fuscina Gracchi, lustravitque fuga mediam gladiator arenam."

aurea . . . spira was a kind of lasso—in Gracchus's case adorned with gold lace—which was hung from the left arm, on which was the *galerus*, and then passed over breast and back to the right side, where it was connected with the net, which it served both to throw and to collect again.

208. **longo iactetur galero,** flies loose from the long *galerus*, *i.e.* is attached to the left arm.

galero. This was probably a leather armlet put on the left arm to serve for a shield, and extending over the left shoulder. For the details of the equipment of the *retiarius*, see Friedländer, vol. ii. pp. 511, 513.

209. **ignominiam.** It was a disgrace to a gladiator to have to fight with so degenerate a noble.

210. **cum Graccho** is used contemptuously.

secutor. Perhaps used generally for the opponent of the *retiarius*, from the mode of fighting described above; but the *secutores* proper differed in some respects from the Samnites or Thraces. They carried a sword and shield, and wore a helmet with vizor, and greaves for the thigh. So in inscriptions the *secutor* is called "contra rete," see Wilmanns, 2605.

212. **Senecam praeferre Neroni.** For Seneca the Stoic philosopher and tutor to Nero, see note on *Sat.* v. 108. He was put to death for supposed complicity in Piso's conspiracy, the object of which Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 65) states to have been to put Seneca on the throne after removing both Nero and Piso.

213. **non debuit una parari simia.** The punishment of parricides, or of those who murdered any near relation, was to be shut up in a sack with an ape, a viper, a cock, and a dog, and to be thrown into the sea, in order, as Cicero says, "ut repente caelo, sole, aqua terraque privarentur." See also *Dig.* 48, 9, 9. The animals chosen were those regarded as most unnatural to their kind. Nero not only murdered his mother Agrippina after several unsuccessful attempts, but his wife Poppaea Sabina, his stepbrother Britannicus, and his aunt Domitia, and so deserved the punishment over and over again.

215. **Agamemnonidae**—of Orestes, who killed his mother Clytemnestra. So Dio Cassius makes Vindex compare Nero to Thyestes, Oedipus, Alcmaeon, and Orestes, *τούτους γὰρ ὑποκρίνεται.*

causa. The reason was that she and Aegisthus had treacherously murdered his father Agamemnon.

217. **caesi media inter pocula.** The account of Aeschylus is that he was killed while in his bath, but see Hom. *Od.* xi. 410, which more agrees with this.

218. **Electrae**, the sister of Orestes. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 139, "Orestes . . . non Pyladen ferro violare aususve sororem est Electram." This glances at the murder of Britannicus.

Spartani . . . coniugii. Orestes married Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and Helen. Nero killed his first wife Octavia, and also caused the death of Poppaea Sabina by his brutality.

219. **aconita.** Nero made frequent use of the infamous poisoner Locusta. Conf. *Sat.* i. 71.

220. **in scena numquam cantavit.** Conf. *supra*, "citharoedo principe." Notice the intentional anti-climax, and conf. *Sat.* iii. 9. Nero sang and played in public both at Naples and in Greece. Suet. *Ner.* 21.

221. **Troica non scripsit.** Nero wrote an epic poem on the taking of Troy, part of which Suetonius says that he recited as he watched the great fire at Rome from his palace. The poetry was probably bad, although Tacitus says, *Ann.* xiii. 3, "aliquando carminibus pangendis inesse sibi elementa doctrinae ostendebat." See also Suet. *Ner.* 10, and Dio Cass. 62, 29.

Verginius. L. Verginius Rufus was governor of Upper Germany under Nero. When Vindex induced the Gallic provinces to rebel, and offered to make Galba—who was at that time governor of Hispania Tarraconensis—emperor, Verginius marched against him, and in the battle which followed Vindex was killed. Dio Cassius represents Verginius as having come to some understanding with Vindex, but neither Tacitus nor Plutarch, in Galba's Life, give any authority to the version that Verginius and Vindex were acting together. Verginius refused the empire when offered to him by his troops, and, though somewhat reluctantly, recognised the senate's election of Galba, who replaced him in the province by Hordeonius Flaccus. He died in 97 A.D. His epitaph is given by Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 10, 4, "Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam imperium adseruit, non sibi sed patriae."

222. **Vindice.** C. Julius Vindex was *legatus* of Gallia Lugdunensis. He raised the standard of revolt against Nero in Gaul, and was joined by the Sequani, Aedui, and Arverni. In order to obtain influential support, he offered to secure the empire for Ser. Sulpicius Galba, *legatus* of Hispania Tarraconensis, who, after some hesitation, accepted his offer. Dio Cassius represents him as laying special stress on Nero's conduct in singing, etc., in public (63, 22).

Galba was proclaimed emperor by his one legion in Spain, where he had been legate for eight years. The senate at Rome confirmed his election, and the praetorian guard was won over by the promise made by Nymphidius Sabinus, in Galba's name, of a huge donative. See Plut. *Galb.* 3.

223. **quod Nero tam saeva.** The MSS. have *quid* beginning a fresh question; in which case "more deserving of punishment" would be understood. I have followed Prof. Mayor after Madvig in reading *quod.*

225. **peregrina ad pulpita,** especially in Achaia, where Nero went the round of the provincial stages, receiving every-

where crowns and flattery from the citizens. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 33, and Suet. *Ner.* 22.

226. **apium.** Victors in the Nemean and Isthmian games were crowned with wreaths of parsley. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iv. 11, 3, "est in horto, Phylli, nectendis apium coronis."

227. **insignia vocis,** "the decorations which your voice has won." Nero is told to hang these crowns round the images of his ancestors. He did actually display them in public on his return to Rome, Suet. *Ner.* 25. His voice was spoken of as "vox caelestis"; it was in reality hoarse and somewhat shrill, *ib.* 21.

228. **Domiti.** Nero's father was Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was the first husband of Agrippina, and died in 40 A.D. An ancestor was the Domitius Ahenobarbus who was killed in the Pompeian army at Pharsalia.

Thyestae syrma. Nero appeared on the stage in the character of Thyestes, the brother of Atreus. See Dio Cass. 63, 23. The *syrma* (*σύρω*, to drag) was the flowing train in which tragic characters appeared. Conf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 215, "traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem."

229. **personam Menalippes,** "the mask of Menalippe." *Menalippes* is the Greek genitive. This was another of Nero's characters. Menalippe was a daughter of Aeolus. Euripides wrote a play called by her name. *persona* first means a mask, then the character represented by it, and, lastly, was used as a technical term in Roman law, as a person in whom legal rights could reside: hence its modern signification.

230. **de marmoreo . . . colosso.** Pliny says, "moles excogitatas videmus statuarum quas colossos vocant." Nero had a colossal statue of himself, 120 feet high, in front of the Golden House, but this was of bronze. Suetonius (*Ner.* 12) says, "citharam a iudicibus ad se delatam adoravit, ferrique ad Augusti statuam iussit." Perhaps this is the incident alluded to.

231. **tuis natalibus,** "than your descent"; abl. of comparison after *sublimius.*

Catilina belonged to the noble Sergian *gens,* **Cethegus** to the Cornelian. Conf. *Sat.* ii. 27, "Clodius accuset moechos, Catilina Cethegum," and x. 288.

234. **ut Braccatorum pueri,** "like sons of the Gauls," who in 390 B.C. burnt Rome to the ground, as Catiline and Cethegus had conspired to do. Gallia Narbonensis was originally called "Gallia braccata," from the *braccae* or breeches which, in common with most barbarians, the inhabitants wore.

Senonum minores, descendants of the Senones, who were a

Gallic tribe north of the Aedui. They are particularly mentioned by Livy as present at the burning of Rome. Liv. v. 34.

235. **tunica . . . molesta**, referred to in *Sat.* i. 156. It was a tunic made of *papyrus* and tow, and steeped in pitch, resin, and other combustible materials. It was then set on fire, and the wretched victim was burnt alive. Martial, iv. 86, jokingly calls the greasy paper in which fish were fried "tunicas molestas."

236. **consul**—Cicero, who would have intensely relished this appreciation of his services. See Cic. *in Cat.* i. 8.

237. **Hic novus Arpinas.** Cicero was a *novus homo*, *i.e.* born of a family which before him had held no curule offices. It would therefore be *ignobilis*, and have no *imagines*. Cicero made it *nobilis*. He was born at Arpinum, a *municipium*, in 106 B.C.

238. **municipalis eques.** See Cic. *Phil.* iii. 15, "videte quam despiciamur omnes qui sumus e municipiis." Cicero was always a patron and defender of the equestrian order, both at Rome and in the provinces.

239. **attonitis**, the panic-stricken citizens.

in omni monte is probably right, *i.e.* in every part of the city, on each of the seven hills: *gente* is the reading of most MSS.

240. **intra muros**, the scene of his activity in putting down the conspiracy.

toga, the garb of peace. Juvenal means that Cicero won as a civilian the same title which was given to Augustus after the battles of Actium and Philippi. Cicero says himself, speaking of the *supplicatio* decreed in his honour, that he was the first civilian (*togatus*) who had received one. Conf. also *de Off.* i. 77.

241. **nominis et tituli**, after *tantum*. This refers to the title "pater patriae" given him by his friends.

Leucade. Leucas was a peninsula not far from the scene of the battle of Actium, off the coast of Epirus.

242. **Thessaliae campis.** This refers to Philippi, which, however, was actually fought in Thrace; Pharsalia was in Thessaly.

Octavius, after the death of Iulius Caesar, became C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus. Augustus was an honorary title conferred on him subsequently by the senate.

244. **patrem patriae.** Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 117, says of Cicero, "salve primus omnium patriae parens appellate." It was, however, also applied to Camillus, Liv. v. 49. Cicero says, *in Pis.* 3, "Me Q. Catulus princeps huius ordinis frequentissimo

senatu patrem patriae nominavit." Under the Empire the title became a regular one, always accorded to the new emperor, though sometimes refused, as by Tiberius, Tac. *Ann.* i. 72.

libera; this is emphatic. In later times the title was granted as a mere piece of flattery and servility.

245. **Arpinas alius.** C. Marius was also born at Arpinum, 156 B.C.

Volscorum. Arpinum was a Volscian town.

246. **poscere mercedes**, etc., *i.e.* to work for hire on another man's fields.

247. **frangebat vertice vitem,** "had the vine switch broken on his head," *i.e.* served as a common soldier, and was punished in the ordinary way by the centurion when he deserved it. Conf. Liv. *Epit.* lvii., "Scipio quem militem extra ordinem deprehendit, si Romanus esset, vitibus caedebat, si extraneus fustibus." Marius was in Scipio's army before Numantia, 133 B.C. Conf. *Sat.* vi. 479, "hic frangit ferulas, rubet ille flagello."

248. **muniret castra dolabra.** On the details of the Roman camp, and the care and exactness with which it was always measured out and defended by the *vallum* and *fossa*, see *Dict. of Antiq.* The *dolabra* carried by every private soldier was half hatchet, for cutting the stakes for entrenchment—half pickaxe, for digging out the *fossa*.

249. **Cimbros.** The Cimbrians and Teutons had for some years before their defeat by Marius been threatening the Roman frontiers. It was in 102 B.C. that Marius defeated the Teutons at Aquae Sextiae, and next year joined his colleague Q. Lutatius Catulus, and in the battle of Vercellae completely crushed the Cimbrians, who were invading Italy from the north-east.

pericula rerum, "danger to the empire." Conf. *Sat.* viii. 90, "ossa vides rerum."

250. **excipit,** by zeugma with *Cimbros* = "cut off"; with *summa pericula* = "took on his shoulders."

251. **Cimbros stragemque**; by hendiadys "the carnage of the Cimbrians."

252. **qui numquam attigerant maiora cadavera,** a reference to the gigantic stature of the Cimbri.

253. **nobilis . . . collega**—Catulus, who belonged to a patrician family.

lauro . . . secunda. The soldiers wished that Catulus should share in the triumph, and Marius, with a good grace, consented to this. Conf. Plut. *vit. Mar.* 27.

254. **Deciorum.** Two members of the plebeian family of

the Decii devoted themselves, in the midst of a battle, with solemn ceremonial, to the nether gods, and by their deaths won the victory for their countrymen. P. Decius Mus was the first to do this in the battle at Vesuvius against the Latin league, 340 B.C., Liv. viii. 9. His son, of the same name, copied his father's example at the battle of Sentinum against the Samnites, 295 B.C., Liv. x. 28. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 239.

255. **pro totis legionibus**, etc. These words are a reminiscence of the formula of devotion cited by Livy, viii. 9, "pro republica Quiritium, exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium," etc.

256. **auxiliis atque pube Latina.** These words are equivalent to the common phrase "socii et Latini."

258. **pluris enim Decii**, "for to them (the nether gods) the Decii are worth more than," etc.

259. **Ancilla natus**—Servius Tullius. See *Sat.* vii. 199.

trabeam. The *trabea* was a state *toga* bordered with purple, and also striped across the breast with the same colour. It was worn by the Roman kings, by augurs, by other magistrates on especially solemn occasions, and by the *equites*; see Tac. *Ann.* iii. 2. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 612, "Quirinali trabea"; and *Sat.* x. 35.

Quirini—Romulus. In *Sat.* iii. 67 a Roman is described as "a rustic of Quirinus."

261. **laxabant**, "tried to open."

tyrannis—to the Tarquins.

262. **iuvenes ipsius consulis.** Titus and Tiberius, the sons of Iunius Brutus, the Liberator, made a conspiracy to restore the exiled royal family. Conf. Liv. ii. 5.

263. **deceret.** *decuisset* might have been expected, but the whole description is a sort of permanent historical picture, in which the characters still live.

264. **Coclite**—Horatius Cocles, who kept the bridge against Lars Porsenna. Liv. ii. 10. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* viii. 650.

Mucius. Mucius Scaevola was taken prisoner in attempting to assassinate Porsenna, and, to show how little he cared for pain, allowed his left hand to be burnt off.

265. **imperii fines Tiberinum**, because on the northern side of the Tiber was Etruria, still independent of Rome.

virgo. The maiden was Cloelia, one of the hostages delivered to Porsenna; she escaped and swam back across the Tiber. Conf. Liv. ii. 13; Verg. *Aen.* viii. 651.

266. **occulta . . . crimina**, *i.e.* against the two sons of Brutus. See Livy's account in Book ii. 4.

267. **matronis lugendus**, "worthy to be publicly mourned by matrons." This, again, has reference to Livy's account, who says of Brutus, "matronae annum, ut parentem, eum luxerunt." This slave was worthy of a like honour.

at illos, in sharp contrast to the reward of the slave.

verbera, the scourge. Livy says, "nudatos virgis caedunt securique feriunt."

268. **legum prima securis**, "the first legal punishment" as opposed to the rule of the kings who had just been deposed, 507 B.C. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 820, "Consulis imperium hic primus saevasque secures accipiet."

269. **Thersites**, described by Homer as lame, squinting, and round-shouldered. Conf. *Il.* ii. 216, αἴσχιστος δὲ ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε. Post-Homeric writers say that he was killed by Achilles. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 31.

270. **Aeacidae**—Achilles.

Vulcani arma. On the armour which Thetis persuaded Hephaestus to make for her son Achilles, see Hom. *Il.* xviii. 369 *seq.*

272. **ut**, although.

revolvas, *i.e.* from a scroll on which the family pedigree is traced.

273. **ab infami . . . asylo.** The asylum was a sanctuary formed by Romulus between the Capitol and the *arx* or citadel. Into it were admitted all comers, slaves or freemen, who had fled from their own cities. See Liv. i. 8.

275. **illud, quod dicere nolo**, *i.e.* a robber or a slave.

SATIRE X

1. **Gadibus.** Gades, the modern Cadiz, was just outside the Pillars of Hercules.

2. **Gangen**, taken as the farthest point known towards the east.

3. **illis diversa.** *diversus* usually goes with *a* and the ablative, but also takes a dative, as—"Est huic diversum vitio vitium," Hor. *Ep.* i. 18, 3. Conf. also "quantum . . . discordet parcus avaro," *ib.* ii. 2, 192.

4. **ratione**, "on rational grounds."

5. **tam dextro pede**, "under such good augury." It was a superstition among the ancients that it was lucky to start with the right foot foremost. Hence the phrases, *dextro pede*,

secundo pede. So temple steps were odd in number, that worshippers might enter with the right foot first.

6. **votique peracti**, of his wish when accomplished, *i.e.* when he is *voti compos.*

7. **optantibus ipsis**, "in answer to the prayers of their owners."

8. **toga**, in civil life. See note on *Sat.* viii. 240.

10. **ille** probably refers to Milo, the celebrated athlete of Croton, who, in splitting an oak tree, got his hands wedged in and was killed by wild animals.

11. **periit.** Notice the quantity of the final syllable. This is an archaism; the third person singular is really a contracted form from *eit,* and so should be long, but, owing to the tendency in Latin to shorten final syllables, it has become short. So *amat*=*amait.* See note on *Sat.* i. 79. Conf. vi. 559, "Magnus civis obit et formidatus Othoni."

13. **strangulat.** Possibly with reference to the story of Midas, whose food turned to gold and choked him. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 303.

14. **quanto.** Notice the omission of *tanto.*

balaena Britannica. Whales were no doubt often met with round our northern coasts. Britain was often chosen as a type of the remote and unknown. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iv. 14, 47, "beluosus qui remotis obstrepit Oceanus Britannis."

15. **Temporibus diris.** Conf. *Sat.* viii. 223, "saeva tyrannide."

16. **Longinum.** C. Cassius Longinus was the most famous jurisconsult of his time "ceteros praeminebat peritia legum," Tac. *Ann.* xii. 12. He was proconsul of Asia and *legatus* of Syria; was accused by Nero in 65 A.D. nominally "quod in vetere gentili stemmate C. Cassii percussoris Caesaris imagines retinuisset," Suet. *Ner.* 37; really "nullo crimine, nisi quod opibus vetustis et gravitate morum . . . praecellebat," Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 7. He was banished to Sardinia and put to death there according to Suetonius, or according to another account restored by Vespasian.

praedivitis. Seneca was said to possess 300,000,000 sesterces. See note on *Sat.* v. 109. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 42.

hortos clausit. When Seneca was denounced as being implicated in Piso's conspiracy a tribune of the Praetorian Guard was sent to announce his doom, and surrounded his villa with a cohort of soldiers. *clausit* goes with *Longinum* only by zeugma. Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 60, uses the word *saepsit.*

17. **Lateranorum.** Plautius Lateranus, who also lost his life in this conspiracy, was at the time, 65 A.D., *consul designatus.*

obsidet. Probably the house of Lateranus, near the Caelian Hill, was also invested, like Seneca's villa, to prevent his escape.

18. **cenacula**, garrets at the top of the *insulae;* they were hired by the poor. Conf. *Sat.* iii. 201, "ultimus ardebit, quem tegula sola tuetur."

19. **argenti . . . puri**, unembossed silver, as opposed to that which was *caelatum.*

21. **motae ad lunam**, "as it is waved in the moonlight."

24. **divitiae** goes with **crescant.** Cicero, *de Amic.* c. 6, distinguishes between *divitiae* and *opes*—"divitiae ut utaris; opes ut colaris." Here they are nearly the same.

maxima toto nostra sit arca foro. The *argentarii* or bankers had their *tabernae* in the Forum, and kept the *arcae* of their depositors. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 50, "cedere foro"; and i. 90, "posita sed luditur arca"; and the phrase "ex arca solvere."

25. **aconita.** Conf. *Sat.* viii. 219.

26. **fictilibus.** Conf. *Sat.* iii. 168, and xii. 47.

pocula . . . gemmata. See note on *Sat.* v. 43, "gemmas ad pocula transfert."

27. **Setinum.** See note on *Sat.* v. 34.

28. **alter ridebat**, viz. Democritus, a famous philosopher of Abdera, 460-367 B.C., who found material for laughter in all human affairs. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 194, "Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus." See also Sen. *de Ira*, ii. 10, 5.

30. **flebat contrarius auctor**—Heracleitus, another philosopher, who wrote at Ephesus about 513 B.C., and who was always accredited with taking a gloomy view of human nature. He was called ὁ σκοτεινός from the obscurity of his philosophical tenets.

31. **rigidi**, sarcastic.

33, etc. How Democritus would have laughed if he had lived at Rome!

34. **quamquam non essent.** For *quamquam* with subj., see *Sat.* xi. 205, xii. 25, xiii. 170, xv. 30. Writers of the Silver Age, like Tacitus and Juvenal, usually have it so construed.

urbibus illis, *i.e.* in Abdera, Ephesus, and the Greek cities generally.

35. **praetextae.** The *toga praetexta* had a purple border round it, and was worn by the consuls, praetors, and curule aediles.

trabeae. See above, *Sat.* viii. 259. Worn by augurs and equites on solemn occasions.

lectica. See note on *Sat.* i. 65.

tribunal, *i.e.* where the praetor administered what had to do duty for justice under the Empire.

36. **praetorem curribus altis exstantem.** The following lines refer to the grand procession which was formed before the

ludi Romani began, starting from the Capitol and passing through the Forum, the Vicus Tuscus, Velabrum, Boarium, to the Circus Maximus. In the midst of this procession the *praetor urbanus*, whose duty it was to preside at these state games, rode in a triumphal chariot, dressed in the triumphal *toga*, bordered with purple and heavy with gold (*tunica Iovis*). Conf. *Sat.* xi. 185, "similisque triumpho praeda caballorum praetor sedet." Except in special cases—*e.g.* at a procession of this kind—driving in carriages through Rome in the day-time was forbidden.

38. **tunica Iovis.** See *supra*. This tunic, which was embroidered with palm leaves, was kept in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol.

pictae . . . togae. The *toga picta* was an embroidered *toga*, which was kept with the *tunica palmata* on the Capitol, and used only on special occasions.

Sarranà = Tyrian. Conf. Verg. *Georg.* ii. 506, "Sarrano indormiat ostro." Sara was an old name of Tyre, Sur and Tur being probably the same root.

39. **aulaea**—curtains, referring to the voluminous folds of the *toga*. On the complicated arrangement of the *toga*, see Becker's *Gallus*, p. 414. Conf. Cic. *in Cat.* ii. 22, "velis amictos non togis"; and Hor. *Epod.* iv. 8.

41. **tenet sudans**, ironical, for the *praetoricia corona* was only gold-leaf and very thin. See Mart. viii. 33.

publicus, sc. *servus*, a slave belonging to the state. To this class belonged the *apparitores*, who attended on the magistrates. Pliny mentions the custom of a slave supporting a crown for a triumphing magistrate.

consul—a slight confusion between the real triumph, in which a consul would take part, and this procession to the Circus, in which the praetor was the presiding officer.

42. **curru servus portatur eodem.** Some authorities, *e.g.* Tertullian and Hieronymus, quoted by Prof. Mayor, say, apparently without good ground, that the slave had to whisper in the consul's ear "respice post te: hominem esse te memento."

43. **Da**, add.

volucrem . . . quae, etc. A magistrate in his triumph carried in his hand an ivory sceptre, with an eagle at the end.

44. **cornicines.** Conf. *Sat.* iii. 34.

praecedentia longi agminis officia = *longum agmen praecedentium officiosorum*, a long array of the praetor's clients surrounded his chariot. *officium* is the proper word for the complimentary services performed by clients to their patrons. Conf. Horace's phrase, "officiosa sedulitas."

45. **niveos . . . Quirites**—citizens dressed in the *toga*, as all clients were bound to be, and all citizens who attended the games. Conf. *Sat.* i. 96, and vii. 142, "togati ante pedes." For the derivation of *Quirites*, see note on *Sat.* viii. 47.

46. **defossa**, put safely away, as a miser actually buries his money.

sportula, the *centum quadrantes.* See note on *Sat.* i. 95.

47. **Tum quoque**, *i.e.* in the time of Democritus. The argument is now resumed from line 34.

50. **vervecum in patria**, etc. Abdera, the birthplace of Democritus, was proverbial for the dulness of its inhabitants. Conf. Mart. x. 25, "Abderitanae pectora plebis habes." The Boeotians enjoyed a similar notoriety; conf. the expression of Pindar, ὗς βοιωτία, and Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 244. *vervecum* literally means "wethers."

53. **mandaret laqueum**, recommended the noose to, *i.e.* bade her go hang. Conf. the imprecation "abi in malam crucem."

mediumque ostenderet unguem. The middle finger was the finger of scorn, and is hence called by Persius, ii. 33, "infami digito." Conf. also Mart. ii. 28, "digitum porrigito medium."

54. **Ergo supervacua aut si**, etc. The MSS. read *supervacua aut perniciosa.* To complete the line Bücheler inserts *quae*, Doederlin *vel*, Munro *ut*, Lachmann *ne* (with *petuntur*), Ellis *si.* I have followed the latter, "If then the things sought are superfluous or harmful, for what things may we pray?" etc. Weidner reads, *Ergo supervacua est aut*, etc., making *supervacua* agree with *Fortuna.*

55. **genua incerare**, to cover the knees of the gods with petitions written upon waxen tablets.

57. **honorum pagina.** The Scholiast says that this is a bronze tablet placed at the foot of the statue, and containing a list of all honours and titles borne in life.

58. **descendunt statuae.** Conf. *Sat.* viii. 18, "frangenda imagine," and note. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 14, and xvi. 62.

restemque sequuntur, *i.e.* are dragged out. Conf. *Sat.* i. 164.

59. **bigarum.** Conf. *Sat.* vii. 125, "huius enim stat currus aeneus." A triumphal chariot of his ancestors is referred to.

60. **caballis**, referring to equestrian statues placed up in their honour.

62. **adoratum populo caput**, "the bust lately worshipped by the people." The numerous statues, both of Tiberius and

Seianus, were frequently honoured with sacrifices. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 2. *populo* is a dative of the agent, like "formidatus Othoni," *Sat.* vi. 559.

63. **Seianus.** L. Aelius Seianus was of equestrian rank and Etruscan origin (conf. line 74). Under Tiberius he was *praefectus* of the Praetorian Guard, 20 A.D., and thus the second man in Rome ("facies toto orbe secunda"). He was the instigator of much of the cruelty which marked Tiberius's reign; at last, by his ambitious desire to marry Livia, the wife of Drusus, whom he had poisoned, he excited the suspicions of Tiberius, who from Capreae sent a letter to the senate denouncing Seianus and demanding his punishment, 31 A.D. A barbarous persecution of his friends and partisans followed, the account of which was contained in the lost portion of Tacitus's Fifth Book of the *Annals.*

64. **urceoli,** jugs used for serving the *calda.* See note on *Sat.* v. 63.

pelves. See *Sat.* iii. 277, "patulas diffundere pelves."

65. **Pone domi lauros.** The death of Seianus was made the occasion for a general congratulation and festivity. Laurel was suspended on the doors and in the vestibules. Conf. *Sat.* xii. 89, "erexit ianua ramos."

66. **cretatum**—Vergil's *candentem,* and something more, for apparently the dark spots on the animal were chalked over. So also candidates for office chalked their togas to give them a glistening appearance. Conf. Pers. v. 176, "cretata ambitio."

ducitur unco. The bodies of criminals were dragged by a hook through the city to the Scalae Gemoniae, down which they were flung. Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 245.

67. **spectandus,** a sight for all to see. See the account of Seianus's fall in Dio Cassius, 58, 7, etc.

68. **numquam . . . amavi hunc hominem.** Every one took care to be loud in their expressions of hatred, lest they should share his fate.

69. **quo cecidit sub crimine?** Conf. "caderet sub iudice morum," *Sat.* iv. 12.

70. **quibus indicibus?** An *index* was an approver, who gave evidence against his own accomplices. Another reading is *indiciis.*

71. **verbosa et grandis epistula.** Tiberius sent a long and rambling letter to the senate, the commencement of which dealt with other matters, and not till the end was Seianus denounced by name. The senate immediately broke out into revilings against Seianus, and he was led off to the *carcer,* 31 A.D. Dio Cass. 58, 10.

72. **a Capreis**, where Tiberius spent the last six years of his life in retirement, and, if the historians are to be believed, in enormities of a hideous description.

bene habet, it is all right = καλῶς ἔχει.

73. **turba Remi.** Conf. Mart. x. 10, "de plebe Numae."

74. **Nurtia.** Livy, viii. 3, has "in templo Nurtiae Etruscae deae." Her temple was at Vulsinii, the *municipium* where Seianus was born. Ne-vortia = Greek Ἄτροπος.

75. **senectus principis.** Tiberius was now seventy-one, born 42 B.C. Conf. "Crispi iucunda senectus," *Sat.* iv. 81.

76. **diceret . . . Augustum.** Since Augustus, every emperor received this as an honorary title from the senate on his accession to the empire.

77. **suffragia nulli vendimus**, *i.e.* ever since the *comitia* were transferred from the Campus Martius to the senate, as Tacitus says, *Ann.* i. 15. The corruption (*ambitus*) under the old system was notorious in spite of laws against it. Lucan speaks of "annua venali certamina campo."

78. **effudit curas**, "has thrown care to the winds."

81. **panem** refers to the distributions of corn to the poorer citizens, a practice introduced by the Gracchi, extended by Clodius, and continued from necessity by the emperors, although it was an immense burden on the *aerarium*. See note on *Sat.* vii. 174, and viii. 118. The distribution of corn and the attractions of the games had long been drawing to Rome a host of idlers and loungers, ready for any disturbance, willing to do anything but work for their own support. Even Cicero could speak of them as "contionalis hirudo aerarii" (the mob who drain the treasury), but by Juvenal's time the evil had reached incredible proportions. Rome was in all probability fearfully overcrowded by a population whose safety of life and limb on the one hand was utterly disregarded by the rich and their retainers, as well as by the emperor's officials, who scarcely took the pains to guard against the danger of fire or ruin, but which on the other hand was pampered and caressed by the emperor himself, who, to please and occupy them, was forced not only to extend the corn-distribution, but also to increase the number of festivals and holidays and shows, already far too numerous. The once sovereign people, as Juvenal says, now requires nothing but "panem et Circenses."

Circenses. See note on *Sat.* iii. 223, and xi. 195. The Circus Maximus was in the valley between the Aventine and the Palatine. It was here that the chariot races took place which divided the whole assembled crowd into partisans of the several *factiones* explained in the note on *Sat.* vii. 114. Its length was

about 3½ *stadia*, and it would contain nearly 150,000 spectators. The games in the Circus were very frequent, and tended continually to become more so. The *ludi Romani* were one of the earliest, being established in 364 B.C.; they began on September 4, and lasted fifteen days. Then there were the *ludi Plebeii* for fourteen days in November, the *ludi Apollinares* for eight days in July, the *Floralia* for six days in April, the *ludi Megalenses* in the same month, besides several others. On extraordinary occasions the games assumed vaster proportions. Titus, to celebrate his Eastern victory, in 80 A.D. gave games lasting for eighty consecutive days, and Hadrian in 126 A.D. for 120 days.

82. **pallidulus.** See Appendix II.

83. **Brutidius.** Brutidius Niger was an orator; he was aedile in 22 A.D. Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 66, says he was "artibus honestis copiosus." Like most of the senators he had probably flattered Seianus when in power, and was now anxious lest he should share his fate.

Martis aram was in the Campus Martius. Liv. xl. 45.

84. **victus ne poenas exigat Aiax,** etc.—"lest, like a conquered Ajax, he should exact a penalty as having been badly defended." The contest for the arms of Achilles, between Ajax and Ulysses (referred to in *Sat.* vii. 115), was a rhetorical commonplace. Ajax was worsted in the trial, and madly raged against his lukewarm friends. So Tiberius considered that the senate had been lukewarm in his cause against Seianus, and might be expected to punish some of them now. *victus* is appropriate to Ajax, not to Tiberius. Prof. Mayor supposes that Brutidius had often supported the cause of Ajax in the rhetorical schools, where the subject was a commonplace, and had done it badly. His friend says, "I am afraid all his bad rhetoric on behalf of Ajax will be punished now."

86. **dum iacet in ripa.** After being hurled down the Scalae Gemoniae, the body would be thrown into the river.

87. **videant servi,** let our slaves be witnesses of it. It was only in cases of treason that the evidence of slaves could be legally taken against their masters, although Tiberius evaded the law by having the slaves purchased by the *actor publicus*, and so made *servi publici.* Tac. *Ann.* ii. 30.

90. **salutari.** In the absence of Tiberius at Capreae, Seianus practically took his place at Rome, and his morning reception was thronged by all the magistrates and nobles.

91. **summas . . . curules,** the highest curule offices, *i.e.* consulships, praetorships, etc. The nomination to these offices was practically in the hands of the emperor. During the last

years of Tiberius, however, Seianus exercised all the patronage of this sort. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 2.

92. **illum exercitibus praeponere.** Conf. note on *Sat.* vii. 88.

tutor haberi principis. On the relations between a *tutor* and his *pupillus*, see *Sat.* i. 47, viii. 79.

94. **cum grege Chaldaeo.** The Chaldaei, or Mathematici, were astrologers who were frequently expelled from Rome by decrees of the senate, but were continually consulted by those curious of the future; see note on *Sat.* iii. 42. They were sometimes consulted against the emperor, as by Lepida in Tac. *Ann.* iii. 22. Tiberius had learned the art at Rhodes from Thrasyllus, Tac. *Ann.* vi. 20, "scientia Chaldaeorum, artis cuius apiscendae otium apud Rhodum magistrum Thrasyllum habuit." At Capreae he fell more and more under the influence of these impostors.

pila, cohortes, "lances and cohorts at your disposal."

95. **egregios equites,** "illustrious knights on your staff." Those members of the equestrian order who were noble in birth and also possessed the senatorial *census* (1,000,000 sesterces), formed a distinct class by themselves, and were nearer to the senatorial than to the equestrian order. They were called *equites illustres* or *splendidi*, or, as here, *egregii*, and wore the *latus clavus* on their tunics, like the senators. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 59, "equitibus Romanis illustribus." The passage means, "you would like to have these *equites* in your train as Seianus had."

castra domestica, "the praetorian camp under your command." Seianus was first a colleague of his father as *praefectus praetorio*, and then held the post by himself. He was the first to station the praetorian cohorts together in the camp outside the Agger Servius. See note on *Sat.* v. 153.

97. **quae praeclara et prospera tanti,** etc.—"What glory and prosperity is worth having on the condition that the measure of trouble shall counterbalance the success?" For *tanti* followed by *ut* in this sense, conf. *Sat.* iii. 54-56.

99. **qui trahitur,** *i.e. ducitur unco.*

praetextam. See *supra*, 35.

100. **Fidenarum Gabiorumque** were both depopulated towns in Latium, which had dwindled almost to villages. Horace, *Ep.* i. 11, 7, has "Gabiis desertior atque Fidenis." See note on *Sat.* iii. 2.

potestas, the modern *podestà*, or provincial Italian magistrate; here the *aedilis iuri dicundo*, whom Juvenal describes in *Sat.* iii. 179 as wearing only the tunic. Horace amusingly

describes the pretentious airs of one of these insignificant magistrates in his account of the journey to Brundisium. Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, 36.

101. **de mensura ius dicere.** It was the duty of the aediles both in Rome (up to Trajan's time) and in Italy to superintend and inspect weights and measures. See *Dig.* i. 48, 10, and Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigr. Lat.* p. 314, who gives an inscription (C. I. L. X. 8067)—"Ti. Claud(io) Caes(are) iiii. L. Vitel(lio) iii. cos. exacta ad Artic(uleiana) pondera cura aed(ilium)."

vasa minora frangere, to break the vessels of less than the standard measure. Conf. Pers. i. 130, "fregerit heminas Arreti aedilis iniquas."

102. **pannosus**—in the country the magistrates might wear anything. Conf. *Sat.* iii. 179.

Ulubris, another deserted town in Latium. Conf. "vacuis Cumis," *Sat.* iii. 2.

105. **numerosa.** Conf. "classis numerosa," *Sat.* vii. 151.

106. **tabulata**, stories. See *Sat.* iii. 199.

107. **impulsae praeceps ruinae**, "the giddy height of the tottering building once set going." *immane* is a predicate; *ruinae*, abstract for concrete; *praeceps*, as in *Sat.* i. 149, a substantive.

108. **Crassos**, a Crassus. M. Licinius Crassus, a member of the first triumvirate, was killed together with his son in an expedition against the Parthians in 53 B.C.

Pompeios, like *Crassos*, is the generalising plural, and only refers to Pompeius Magnus, whose fate after Pharsalia is well known.

illum . . . qui, sc. C. Iulius Caesar.

109. **ad sua . . . deduxit flagra**, made them his slaves; as "flagra pati," *Sat.* v. 173, means to endure the punishment of a slave.

110. **nempe.** See note on *Sat.* viii. 164.

nulla non arte, "by every art."

petitus. *peto* is the technical term for "to be a candidate for."

111. **numinibus . . . exaudita**, dative of agent. See *supra* note on line 62.

112. **generum Cereris.** Proserpina, the daughter of Ceres, was wife of Pluto or Dis, god of the nether world. Conf. *Sat.* vii. 25, xiii. 50.

113. **sicca morte**, bloodless death.

115. **Quinquatribus.** The *Quinquatrus* or *Quinquatria* were five days, beginning on March 19, which were kept as a festal

time in honour of Minerva, the patroness of all kinds of skilled labour. It was always a holiday time at schools, and the school year commenced at the close of it. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 2, 196, "puer ut festis Quinquatribus olim." The *Quinquatrus* were originally the fifth day after the *ides* of a month, but later the *maiores Quinquatrus, i.e.* those in March, lasted five days.

116. **uno parcam colit asse Minervam.** Boys entering a school after the *Quinquatrus* paid an entrance fee of one *as*, which was called *Minerval.* Probably the school fees in the better class of schools were paid annually at this time (see *Sat.* vii. 243), but they must not be confused with the present referred to in this passage.

parcam Minervam. "A cheap kind of learning." Conf. the phrase "crassa Minerva," and "invita Minerva." Another reading is *partam.* The boy, as soon as ever he enters school, begins to dream of being a second Cicero.

117. **custos angustae . . . capsae.** The slaves who carried the boys' books to school in a wooden case were called *capsarii.* The *paedagogi* were usually Greek slaves of a somewhat higher class, employed to accustom the boys to the Greek language from early childhood. See *Sat.* vii. 218, note.

vernula, a slave born in the house. See note on *Sat.* i. 26.

118. **perit.** As regards the quantity of the final syllable, see note on line 11.

120. **Ingenio manus est et cervix caesa.** When Cicero was murdered, Liv. *Epit.* 120, his head and hands, by order of Antonius, were cut off and affixed to the *rostra*, a practice not unusual in the Roman proscriptions. Cicero himself, *de Orat.* iii. § 10, says of M. Antonius the orator, "rostris . . . positum caput illud fuit a quo erant multorum civium capita servata." *ingenio* is dat.—"genius lost, hand and head."

121. **causidici.** See on *Sat.* vii. 106.

122. **O fortunatam,** etc.; a line taken from a poem which Cicero wrote, in three books, on his "own times." He says, *Ep. ad Fam.* i. 9, 23, "Scripsi etiam versibus tres libros de temporibus meis." Another line from the poem he himself cites in the *Second Philippic*, "cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi." Quintilian mentions the line in ix. 4, 41, and xi. 1, 24. (Conf. also Mart. ii. 89.) Dryden renders it

"Fortune foretuned the dying notes of Rome,
Till I thy consul sole consoled thy doom."

123. **Antoni gladios potuit contemnere.** No doubt a reference to Cicero's own words, *Phil.* ii. 118, "contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos." *potuit contemnere,*

"he could have despised," practically equals *contempsisset*, and therefore is regularly followed by *si dixisset*.

124. **malo**, I had rather write, *i.e.* because of the absence of danger. The *Second Philippic*, in which Cicero's declamation is seen at its best, though not actually delivered in the senate, was publicly circulated, and was no doubt the principal cause of Cicero's death. Such a speech could never be forgiven.

126. **volveris a prima quae proxima**, which art unrolled (*i.e.* from the *volumen*) next to the first, *i.e.* second. Conf. line 247.

illum—Demosthenes.

128. **torrentem.** Conf. *Sat.* iii. 73, "Isaeo torrentior."

moderantem frena, holding the reins.

pleni . . . theatri. After the temple of Dionysus was completed in 334 B.C., the assemblies were usually held there instead of in the Pnyx.

130. **pater . . . massae fuligine lippus.** The father of Demosthenes was not a blacksmith, as Juvenal's words might seem to imply, but a rich man who owned a sword manufactory, the work of which was of course performed by his slaves. He died when Demosthenes was seven years old, leaving him a tolerable fortune, which, as we know from Demosthenes's speeches, was misused by his guardians, against whom he brought an action.

131. **gladios parante.** See *supra*.

132. **Vulcano**, the furnace. Conf. note on *Sat.* vii. 25.

ad rhetora misit. The *rhetor* with whom Demosthenes studied was Isaeus; but he could not have been sent by his father, who died in 378 B.C., when Demosthenes was quite a child.

133. **truncis . . . tropaeis.** The trophy consisted of boughs of a tree set up on a mound and covered with the *exuviae* of the enemy. The *locus classicus* is Verg. *Aen.* xi. 5 *seq.*, "Ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis." See also Suet. *Calig.* 45.

134. **buccula**, the cheek-piece.

135. **curtum temone**, broken at the pole.

136. **aplustre** = ἄφλαστον, an ornament rising from the stern of a ship adorned with flags and streamers.

summo . . . captivus in arcu; a reference to the figures of captives on triumphal arches, *e.g.* the captive Dacians on the Arch of Constantine, probably taken from one of Trajan.

137. **se . . . erexit**—gnomic or iterative aorist = ἐπήρθη.

138. **induperator.** For this form, see note on *Sat.* iv. 29.

140. **inde**, from that desire.

141. **Quis . . . amplectitur . . . si tollas?** Conf. *Sat.* vii. 50, and xi. 16.

virtutem . . . ipsam, "virtue for its own sake." Conf. Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, ii. 3, 13, "ipse decor recti, facti si praemia desint, non movet."

143. **gloria paucorum**,—as, for example, of the triumvirs, which led to the civil wars and the ruin resulting from them.

tituli is here the funeral inscription on the marble tomb. Conf. *Sat.* vi. 230, "titulo res digna sepulchri."

144. **ad quae discutienda valent**, etc. The *caprificus* or wild fig-tree (*sterilis ficus*) often grew among the tombs, and forced apart the marble slabs between which its wandering branches penetrated. Conf. Mart. x. 2, "Marmora Messallae findit caprificus"; Hor. *Epod.* v. 17, "sepulchris caprificos erutas"; and Pers. i. 25.

147. **Expende**, weigh.

148. **non capit**, does not contain. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 171 = Greek χωρεῖ.

Mauro . . . Oceano—the Atlantic outside the Pillars of Hercules, the western boundary of Africa, just as the Nile was the eastern boundary.

150. **rursus** = *ab alia parte.*

ad Aethiopum populos. This is the southern boundary. The Aethiopians were "sub sole magis," as Sallust says of the Gaetuli, *Iugurth.* cap. 10.

151. **Additur imperiis Hispania.** This was really done by Hamilcar, but Hannibal made it more complete, using Spain as his base of operations against Rome.

152. **transilit**, referring to the speed of his march.

Alpemque nivemque, hendiadys for "snowy Alps."

153. **montem rumpit aceto.** Livy is the authority for this absurd story, xxi. 37. He says that Hannibal made a great fire with wood, and then, when the rocks were red hot, poured vinegar on them, and so softened them sufficiently to cut through them. Polybius says nothing of it.

154. **tenet**, "is master of," as Hannibal practically was after Cannae (κρατεῖ).

ultra pergere—*i.e.* as the next line explains, to get possession of Rome.

155. **Poeno milite.** The soldiers are regarded merely as an instrument. Conf. our expression, "he hurled his lines against the enemy." Conf. *Sat.* vi. 291, "proximus urbi Hannibal et stantes Collina turre mariti."

156. **Subura.** See note on *Sat.* v. 106.

157. **quali digna tabella,** "worthy of what a caricature—" *i.e.* What a ridiculous picture it would have made!

158. **luscum.** This is a reference to the words of Livy, xxii. 2, who says, "Ipse Hannibal aeger oculis ex verna primum intemperie . . . elephanto qui unus superfuerat . . . vectus." Conf. also *Sat.* xii. 108.

Gaetula. The Gaetuli lived "sub sole magis," *i.e.* farther towards the south of Africa. See *supra.*

159. **vincitur**—by Scipio at the battle of Zama, 202 B.C.

idem = *καὶ αὐτός*, in his turn.

160. **nempe.** See note on *Sat.* viii. 164.

in exsilium—first to Antiochus, king of Syria, then after the battle of Magnesia to Prusias, king of Bithynia, where he remained several years at the king's court, assisting him in his wars, and vainly hoping to be assisted in his turn against the Romans.

161. **cliens**—*i.e.* like a client at Rome, he was expected to pay a visit of ceremony each day to the king, and to wait about the palace if he was not ready to receive him.

praetoria—properly the general's tent in the camp, then the residence of a provincial governor, and so the palace of a king, as here.

162. **Bithyno . . . tyranno**—Prusias.

163. **res humanas,** "the whole world." Conf. the expression used for the Roman empire at a later time, *τὴν οἰκουμένην.*

164. **non saxa**—perhaps with reference to the death of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who was killed by a stone thrown from a city which he was besieging, 272 B.C.

165. **Cannarum vindex.** Hannibal is said to have sent home a *modius* of golden rings taken from the *equites* killed at Cannae, 216 B.C. Liv. xxiii. 12.

166. **anulus.** The ring in which he kept poison ready for any emergency is said to revenge this slaughter. The Romans demanded Hannibal's surrender from Prusias, and, as the king was evidently afraid to refuse, Hannibal took poison, 182 B.C. Demosthenes is also said to have taken poison concealed in a ring.

167. **ut . . . declamatio fias.** See note on *Sat.* vii. 161 *seq.* Conf. Hor. *Epod.* xi. 8, "fabula quanta fui"; and Plin. *Ep.* viii. 18, 11, "sunt omnes fabulae Tullus."

168. **Pellaeo iuveni.** Alexander the Great, son of Philip of Macedon, was born at Pella, 356 B.C. and died at Babylon, 323 B.C.

170. **Gyari.** See note on *Sat.* i. 73.

Seripho, another of the Cyclades, also used as a place of banishment under the Empire. The insignificance of Seriphos was proverbial. Themistocles replied to a Seriphian who taunted him with having gained his renown through being an Athenian, *οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς Σερίφιος ὢν ὀνομαστὸς ἐγένετο οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος Ἀθηναῖος.*"

171. **a figulis munitam urbem,** *i.e.* Babylon, which was built by Semiramis of bricks cemented with bitumen and reeds. Conf. Ovid, *Met.* iv. 57, "dicitur altam coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem." See also Herod. i. 178 *seq.* On *figulis* see *Sat.* iv. 135, "figuli tua castra sequantur."

172. **sarcophago contentus erit.** Alexander, having entered Babylon in spite of the warnings of soothsayers, died when only thirty-three years old. The *sarcophagus* was properly made of a kind of stone found at Assos, in the Troad, which was said to hasten decomposition (*σάρκα φαγεῖν*).

173. **corpuscula.** Juvenal is very fond of using diminutives, both nouns and adjectives. See Appendix II.

174. **velificatus Athos.** Xerxes, in order to avoid a possible shipwreck similar to that which overtook the fleet of Mardonius, caused the low-lying isthmus between Mount Athos and the mainland to be cut through so as to form a canal. Herodotus describes the work, vii. 22 *seq.* The length of the canal was about twelve *stadia.* Traces of it are distinctly visible now, so that Juvenal's scepticism is misplaced. He need not have looked far into Roman history for instances of mendacity, though it is perfectly true that Herodotus was very uncritical and tells many foolish stories. See Herod. vii. 21.

quidquid Graecia mendax, etc. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* v. 10, "promptis Graecorum animis ad nova et mira fingebant simul credebantque"; and *Sat.* xiv. 240.

175. **constratum classibus isdem suppositumque rotis,** "paved by those same ships and made to bear the wheels of chariots." This is an allusion to the bridge of boats which Xerxes threw across the Hellespont from Sestos to Abydos, and over which he passed his whole army. See Herod. vii. 33 *seq.*

176. **altos defecisse amnes.** Herodotus records this also, mentioning in particular the Scamander, the Melas, the Lissos, and the rivers in Achaia. Herod. vii. 21, etc.

178. **madidis . . . alis,** with bedraggled wings—probably a suggestion that Sostratus wrote these wonderful tales with a wine-cup by his side. The metaphor of flying as applied to poets is of course a common one.

cantat = recites, as in *Sat.* viii. 220.

Sostratus, a poet who wrote an account of the expedition of Xerxes.

179. **Salamine relicta**, after the famous battle, 480 B.C.

180. **in Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis.** Herodotus says (vii. 35) that Xerxes scourged the Hellespont, but makes no mention of the winds.

181. **Aeolio numquam hoc in carcere passos.** Conf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 52 *seq.*

182. **compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum.** Herod. vii. 35. Xerxes ordered two fetters to be thrown into the Hellespont after his bridge was broken down by the tempest. Ennosigaeus is the Homeric epithet for Poseidon, "earthshaker."

183. **quod non et stigmate dignum credidit.** Herodotus says that he even did this, vii. 35, ἤδη δὴ ἤκουσα ὡς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε στίζοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. The stigma of branding with a red-hot iron was a punishment inflicted on slaves. Sometimes the word FUR was branded on the forehead. Liberated slaves who had received this punishment tried to conceal the marks by plasters (*splenia*) worn on the face, like "patches." See note on *Sat.* xiv. 24.

184. **Huic quisquam vellet servire deorum**—as Neptune served Laomedon, who cheated him of his promised reward, and as Apollo served Admetus, see Eurip. *Alcest.* 1-2.

185. **qualis rediit?** This resumes the thread broken off at line 179.

una nave. This is an exaggeration of the account of Xerxes' return home as given by Herodotus. Later writers say that he escaped in a fishing-boat across the Hellespont on finding his bridge destroyed.

187. **totiens optata,** *i.e.* by Cicero, Demosthenes, Hannibal, Alexander, and Xerxes.

189. **recto vultu,** "with confident face." Conf. Hor. *Od.* iv. 9, 42.

pallidus, pale with eagerness. Others take *pallidus* as "when pale with disease," which it might mean, and *recto vultu* as "in good health," which it could not mean.

192. **dissimilemque sui,** unlike its former self.

pro cute. *cutis* is often used for the human skin. Conf. the expression "cutem curare." See *Sat.* xi. 203.

pellem is often used of skins of animals. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* v. 37, "pelle Libystidis ursae."

194. **Tabraca,** a town on the coast of Numidia. Herodotus

(iv. 194) and Strabo both mention the number of apes in the forests near this part.

197. **alio**, than a third.

198. **cum voce trementia membra**, "limbs and voice alike shaking."

199. **infantia**, second childhood.

200. **misero**, dative of agent after *frangendus.*

gingiva . . . inermi, abl. of instrument.

202. **captatori**. On the legacy-hunters see note, *Sat.* iii. 221.

210. **partis . . . alterius**, of another sense, *i.e.* the ear.

cantante. The noun has to be supplied. *canto* is used of instrumental as well as vocal music.

211. **Seleucus** must have been some Oriental musician famous at the time.

212. **aurata . . . fulgere lacerna**. Musicians and actors used to appear on the stage in gorgeous attire. Conf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 215, "tibicen traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem"; and of actors, *Ep.* ii. 1, 207. For *lacerna*, see note on *Sat.* i. 27.

214. **cornicines**. See note on *Sat.* iii. 34.

216. **quem dicat venisse puer**. The slave in question would be the *cubicularius*, whose duty it was to announce visitors. He also had the general supervision of the sleeping and sitting rooms. Conf. Cic. *in Verr.* iii. 4, "hunc cubicularii diligunt . . . hic cum venit extra ordinem vocatur." Visitors were properly announced in the order of their arrival. See Becker's *Gallus*, p. 212.

quot nuntiet horas. The Romans had two kinds of clocks, the sun-dial (*solarium*) and the water-glass (*clepsydra*); also used in the Athenian law-courts. The first public *clepsydra* at Rome was said to have been set up by P. Scipio Nasica. Slaves were employed to run to the public clocks and report the time of day to their masters, though no doubt the rich possessed clocks of their own. Conf. Mart. viii. 67, "Horas quinque puer nondum tibi nuntiat." Suet. *Dom.* 16. Conf. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 34, "solarium vel descriptum vel ex aqua."

218. **agmine facto**. Conf. Hor. *Od.* i. 3, 31, "incubuit nova febrium cohors."

221. **Themison**—used here for any unskilful doctor of the day. There was a Themison, a physician of Laodicea, who enjoyed some reputation in the time of Pompey, and was said to have invented the use of leeches. It was, however, the custom in the medical profession, as in the pantomimic and theatrical, for a name to be passed on from one generation to another. We have noticed this in the case of Paris the pantomime.

autumno. Conf. *Sat.* iv. 56, "letifero autumno."

222. **Basilus**, a member of some trading company who cheats his partners (*socios*). This was considered a peculiarly dishonourable offence. Conf. Cic. *pro Rosc. Am.* 16, "aeque enim perfidiosum et nefarium est pupillum fraudare, qui in tutelam pervenit, et socium fallere qui se in negotio coniunxit."

circumscripserit. The word properly means "to enclose with a line," and then "to circumvent and cheat." Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 237, xv. 136.

226. This line is repeated from *Sat.* i. 25. It refers to Cinnamus, who had been a barber and became an *eques.*

227. **debilis**=*de-habilis,* disabled.

228. **luscis.** See line 158.

232. **ieiuna,** "herself fasting."

236. **codice saevo,** with an unnatural will, or rather codicil to a will. The ordinary word was "codicilli."

237. **heredes vetat esse suos.** The *sui heredes,* who would be named first in a will (see note on *Sat.* iv. 19) were the testator's sons, who were *in potestate patris,* his wife, when *in manu viri,* and grandchildren when their father was dead. If these *sui heredes* were to be disinherited, they had to be expressly named in the will; if they were merely passed over, the will was *ipso facto* void. If they were expressly disinherited they might bring an action called *querela inofficiosi.* I think, with Mr. Macleane, that there is no direct reference here to the *sui heredes,* and that it should be translated, "he forbids his own sons to be his heirs."

240. **Ut,** although.

243. **Haec data poena,** "this punishment is assigned"; keep distinct from this *dare poenas* = δίκην διδόναι, the opposite of *exigere poenas,* lines 84 and 187.

246. **Rex Pylius**—Nestor, mentioned again in *Sat.* xii. 126.

si quidquam credis Homero. So Thucydides, in speaking of Homer, says, i. 9, εἴ τῳ ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι.

247. **a cornice secundae.** Horace calls a crow "annosa." Nestor was said to have lived over three generations of men; the crow is said by Pliny to live nine.

248. **nimirum**=*ne-mirum,* "no doubt." See *Sat.* vii. 78.

249. **iam dextra computat annos,** *i.e.* has already turned one hundred. Units and tens were counted on the left hand, hundreds on the right. Thirty-three years is the ordinary allowance for a generation.

250. **mustum** was properly the juice of the grapes after they

had been trodden, and before it was put into the *dolium*. It is used here loosely for new wine, drunk in the autumn.

252. **nimio de stamine.** See note on *Sat.* iii. 27, "dum Lachesi superest quod torqueat."

253. **Antilochi.** Conf. Hom. *Od.* iv. 186.

ardentem, *i.e.* on the funeral pyre.

254. **socius.** When the antecedent is placed inside the relative clause it is attracted into the case of the relative. Conf. iii. 91, xi. 94, xv. 66.

257. **alius,** *i.e.* Laertes. For this use of *alius* in referring to a well-known character, conf. *Sat.* i. 10, "unde alius furtivae devehat aurum pelliculae." See Hom. *Od.* xv. 353.

fas (sc. *est*), it is fated. The derivation, like that of *fatum*, is from *fari*.

Ithacum. Vergil, in the Second Book of the *Aeneid*, calls Ulysses—Ithacus, "the Ithacan king."

natantem = *undis iactatum*.

259. **ad umbras Assaraci.** Assaracus was a son of Tros, and great-uncle of Priam.

sollemnibus. *sollemnia* are the wonted ceremonies performed at a tomb. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* v. 605, "variis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis." Notice the two meanings of *sollemnis:* (1) usual—*i.e.* what is wont to be repeated at short intervals; (2) solemn—what is wont to be repeated at long intervals, or on extraordinary occasions, like funeral ceremonies.

260. **Hectore funus portante.** *funus* is the corpse. In a Roman funeral, from which no doubt Juvenal took his description, the corpse was borne on a *lectus funebris* by the nearest relations of the deceased, or by the slaves whom he had emancipated in his will. Pliny says of Q. Metellus Macedonicus, "quatuor filiis illatus rogo est."

261. **ut,** etc., "so that Cassandra might have begun."

inciperet. The imperfect is used to make the picture more vivid.

primos edere planctus, the Homeric ἄρχειν γόοιο.

262. **palla.** The *palla* was the outer dress worn by Roman women over the *stola* or sleeved tunic. It corresponded to the *toga* worn by men, and draped the limbs down to the feet, but it was not allowed to drag on the ground. Becker, *Gallus*, p. 435.

264. **audaces . . . carinas**—in which he carried off Helen. Hor. *Od.* i. 15, "Pastor cum traheret per freta navibus Idaeis Helenam."

265. **dies**, when it means length of time, or day as opposed to night, is feminine.

266. **Asiam.** Conf. Verg. *Aen.* iii. 1, "res Asiae Priamique evertere gentem."

267. **tiara**, an Oriental head-dress or turban. See Verg. *Aen.* vii. 247.

268. **ante aram summi Iovis.** Priam was killed by Pyrrhus or Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, at the altar of Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 501, "Vidi . . . Priamum sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacraverat ignes."

270. **ab ingrato . . . aratro.** The epithet *ingrato* serves to personify the plough, and so the preposition is used.

271. **utcumque**, at any rate.

canino latravit rictu. According to an account later than Homer or the Greek tragedians, Hecuba was turned into a dog. The myth, no doubt, arose from her snarling reproaches levelled against her captors. Ovid relates the metamorphosis, *Met.* xiii. 423 *seq.*; see especially line 568, "rictuque in verba parato latravit conata loqui."

273. **regem . . . Ponti.** See *Sat.* xiv. 252. Mithridates, king of Pontus, 130-63 B.C., was a type of the Oriental despot, cruel, treacherous, and cunning, but with a veneer of Greek culture and much real ability. His career, from his rise as a petty prince to the summit of his power when he was lord over Cappadocia, Bithynia, and part of Phrygia, in addition to his paternal dominion Pontus, and again his fall from power, his final wanderings with a few faithful slaves, and death by poison, are romantic in the extreme. He was opposed, among other Roman generals, by Sulla (87 B.C.), Lucullus (74 B.C.), and Pompeius (66 B.C.)

274. **Croesum**, king of Lydia (reigned 560-548 B.C.) The story of Croesus and Solon, referred to here, is told by Herodotus, i. 29 *seq.*

275. **respicere ad longae . . . spatia ultima vitae.** Conf. Herod. i. 32 *seq.*, *πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχέειν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον, ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα.* See also Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1495, *μηδέν' ὀλβίζειν πρὶν ἂν τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ μηδὲν ἀλγεινὸν παθών.*

276. **Exilium.** The vicissitudes of fortune experienced by Marius are now alluded to. In 88 B.C., after the tumults caused by the laws of the tribune Sulpicius, Sulla made his escape to the army, at the head of which, however, he soon returned to Rome, and Marius was obliged to flee into exile.

carcer, Minturnarumque paludes. Marius in his flight was landed from a ship on the coast near Minturnae. Here he concealed himself by the river-side under some rushes, but was

discovered, dragged forth, and put into prison at Minturnae. A slave was sent in to kill him, but, seeing Marius's eyes glaring at him through the darkness, ran out exclaiming, "I cannot kill C. Marius." Plut. *vit. Mar.* 36; Cic. *in Pis.* 43.

277. **mendicatus . . . Carthagine panis.** On being released from Minturnae, Marius passed over to Carthage, where, on being warned by the praetor to depart, he bade him report to the senate that he had seen Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage. Plut. *vit. Mar.* 40.

278. **hinc,** *i.e.* from too long a life.

280. **circumducto captivorum agmine,** *i.e.* in his triumph. The captives were led in chains before the triumphal chariot of the conqueror.

281. **pompa.** See line 36. For other instances of hiatus, see *Sat.* iii. 70, xii. 110, xiv. 49, xv. 126.

opimam, rich in glory. Cicero has "praeda opimus."

282. **de Teutonico . . . curru,** *i.e.* from the chariot in which he triumphed over the Teutons. See notes on *Sat.* viii. 249 *seq.* See Wilmanns, 632.

283. **provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres.** This was in the year 50 B.C. Pompey was taken ill at Neapolis. Cicero thinks, with Juvenal, that it would have been well for his fame if he had died, *Tusc.* i. 35, 86, "Qui si mortem tum obiisset in amplissimis fortunis occidisset: is propagatione vitae quot, quantas, quam incredibiles hausit fortunas!" *provida* means "foreseeing what was to come." See also Sen. *Cons. ad Marc.* 20.

284. **multae urbes.** The cities of Italy offered up public prayers for Pompeius, and had public rejoicings on his recovery.

286. **victo caput abstulit.** After Pharsalia Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was treacherously murdered on the sea-shore, his head being cut off before the eyes of Ptolemy, the young king of Egypt, 48 B.C.

Hoc cruciatu, this mutilation.

287. **Lentulus.** P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura and C. Cethegus were left at the head of the conspirators at Rome, where they were to have murdered Cicero and set the city on fire, while Catiline himself joined the army in Etruria. They were both arrested by Cicero's vigilance, and subsequently strangled in the Tullianum, but their bodies were given up to their friends for burial, 63 B.C. Sall. *Cat.* 55.

288. **integer,** with his head on his shoulders.

iacuit Catilina. Catiline died a soldier's death in the battle against the forces of C. Antonius, who delegated his command for the day to M. Petreius, 62 B.C. Sall. *Cat.* 60.

290. **cum Veneris fanum videt.** It was a custom for mothers, when they passed a shrine of Venus, of which there were several in the city, to pray for an abundance of her gifts of beauty and love for their children, especially for the girls.

291. **usque ad delicias votorum,** "proceeding even to the most whimsical of vows." *deliciae* is used in *Sat.* iv. 4 as a "fop"; and in *Sat.* vi. 47 there occurs the expression "delicias hominis," a foppish man, a *petit-maître.* See also xiii. 140. The genitives *votorum* and *hominis* are genitives of definition, as we should say "a darling of a man." The meaning is that the mother, in her eagerness that her daughter may be beautiful, makes all sorts of absurd and fond requests, "that her hair may be this, her eyes that, and her cheeks something else." Seneca, quoted by Prof. Mayor, has "usque in delicias amamur," "we are loved even to the satisfaction of our whims and fancies."

292. **gaudet Latona Diana.** Vergil, *Aen.* i. 502, after describing Diana on the mountains, says, "Latonae tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus," a picture which Juvenal had in his mind. See also Hom. *Od.* vi. 102.

293. **Lucretia.** The well-known story of Lucretia and Sextus Tarquinius, "who wrought the deed of shame," is given by Livy, i. 57 *seq.*

294. **Rutilae,** some humpbacked woman.

Verginia. The daughter of Verginius, a brave soldier who himself killed his daughter to save her from Appius Claudius, the *decemvir,* 449 B.C. Livy tells the story, iii. 44 *seq.*

295. **suum,** sc. *vultum.*

297. **Rara est adeo concordia formae atque pudicitiae.** Conf. Ovid, *Her.* xv. 288, who has "lis est cum forma magna pudicitiae."

299. **veteres imitata Sabinos.** The Sabines were alluded to as types of simplicity in *Sat.* iii. 169, "mensamque Sabellam." Livy also (i. 18) says that the ancient Sabines had a severe and ascetic discipline, and that no race exceeded them in purity of life.

300. **modesto sanguine,** *i.e.* a blush. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 154.

303. **custode et cura natura potentior omni**—"nature, who is more effectual than any guardian or any watchfulness," *i.e.* a modest disposition is the best safeguard. Conf. what Juvenal says in *Sat.* vi. 347, "sed quis custodiet ipsos custodes?"

304. **non licet esse viro.** The MSS. mostly have *viros,* but the singular seems preferable, and I therefore follow Jahn. Grammatically the dative and accusative are equally correct, as also after δοκεῖ in Greek.

305. **ipsos audet temptare parentes**, *i.e.* his parents sell him.

308. **praetextatum.** Conf. *Sat.* i. 78, "praetextatus adulter."

Nero, a Nero, type of a class of despots.

rapuit—gnomic aorist.

310. **I nunc.** Notice the frequency with which these words occur in Juvenal. Conf. vi. 306, x. 166, xii. 57.

311. **maiora . . . discrimina**, greater dangers, answering to his greater beauty.

adulter publicus. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iv. 8, 8, "iuvenumque prodis publica cura."

312. **metuet quascunque mariti**, etc., "he will fear every sort of punishment on the part of the angry husband; he deserves them all," etc. I have followed Weidner's punctuation. Bücheler puts the stop after *debet*, "whatever punishment he fears, etc., he deserves to undergo." With this Prof. Mayor compares *Sat.* v. 170, "omnia ferre si potes et debes." For *quascunque* without a verb, conf. *Sat.* iii. 156 and 230, x. 359, xiii. 89, xiv. 42 and 210, etc. The reading of the interpolated MSS. is *mariti exigere irati debent.* Munro thinks the original reading was *mariti exigere iratist*, that when the *st* dropped out *debent* was added to make it grammatical, and then that *P.* omitted *exigere* for the sake of the metre. It is much more likely that the reading of *P.*, which makes perfect sense, was the original one, and that some scribe, not understanding the construction, and taking *irati mariti* for nom. plur., changed *debet* to *debent* and added *exigere.* Jahn conjectures *maritis iratis.*

314. **ut . . . numquam**, so as never to——

315. **plus quam lex ulla**, etc. Certain provisions on this subject were made by the *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* passed 17 B.C. and reinforced by Domitian.

324. **Sed casto quid forma nocet?** This is the reply of the mother.

immo, nay rather. The derivation is from *imo*, "at the bottom," and so "at least." The full form of *imus* is *inimus*, the superlative of *in.*

325. **Hippolyto.** Hippolytus was the son of Theseus. He was tempted by his stepmother Phaedra, daughter of Minos, king of Crete (hence called Cressa), and on proving inflexible was falsely accused by her to Theseus, in answer to whose prayer Poseidon caused his destruction.

Bellerophonti. Bellerophon, son of Glaucus, was similarly

accused by Stheneboea, wife of Proetus, king of Argos, whose guest he was; see *Class. Dict.* Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 7, "ut Proetum mulier perfida credulum falsis impulerit criminibus nimis casto Bellerophonti maturare necem."

326. **Erubuit.** The subject of this is *Cressa.*

hac . . . repulsa, at this repulse, *i.e.* of the virtuous Hippolytus. Another reading is *haec,* which would still have to refer, though ungrammatically, to Phaedra, and *repulsa* would then be a participle.

ceu fastidita, "as if she had received a slight."

327. **excanduit,** glowed with fiery passion.

328. **se concussere,** roused themselves to fury.

329. **pudor**—used here in a bad sense; not modesty, but shame of detected guilt.

330. **cui nubere Caesaris uxor destinat.** Messalina, the wife of Claudius Caesar, the most profligate of Roman women, compelled C. Silius, who was *consul designatus* and a young man, according to Tacitus, of honourable character, to put away his own wife, and actually to go through the marriage ceremony in all its details publicly with her, while her husband Claudius was at Ostia, 47 A.D. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 26, etc.

332. **gentis patriciae.** This is inaccurate. Silius was of plebeian descent.

333. **parato flammeolo.** The *flammeum,* of which this is the diminutive (see note on line 173), was a bridal veil, usually of a yellow colour. Conf. Mart. xii. 42, "Praeluxere faces, velarunt flammea vultus."

Tyrius. See note on *Sat.* i. 27.

genialis, sc. *lectus.* This was usually placed in the *atrium* of the Roman house.

in hortis. Tacitus relates that when the crime was discovered by Claudius, Messalina fled to the *horti Luculliani,* where she was killed.

335. **decies centena,** *i.e. milia*=1,000,000 sesterces. This was the *dos* or wedding-dower, which was paid to the husband on the wedding-day. Conf. *Sat.* vi. 137, "bis quingena dedit."

ritu . . . antiquo probably does not refer to the amount of the *dos,* but only to the fact of its being paid at the time. A million sesterces, however, seems to have been a common sum among the rich. See above. Martial also refers to it, xi. 23.

336. **cum signatoribus auspex.** Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 27, in his account of the marriage, says, "adhibitis, qui obsignarent." The marriage-contract, *tabulae sponsales,* had to be signed before witnesses. It defined the amount of the *dos,* as well as other

matters. Hence Suetonius, *Claud.* 26, also speaking of this occasion, says, "dote inter auspices consignata." The *auspices* (*avis-spicio*) took the omens and repeated some formula of words, as we must infer from the expression of Tacitus, *loc. cit.*, "atque illam audisse auspicum verba." The custom was of course retained as a mere form without any meaning.

337. **tu,** *i.e.* Silius.

338. **Non nisi legitime vult nubere.** So Tacitus, *loc. cit.*, says, "cuncta nuptiarum solemnia celebrat."

quid placeat, What is your determination?

339. **pereundum erit,** *i.e.* by Messalina's orders, which had proved fatal to many before Silius. Notice that the protasis, to be grammatically correct, should be *voles*, and in the next line *admittes*.

ante lucernas, before night, *i.e.* before the lamps are lighted.

340. **scelus admittas.** Conf. line 255, "facinus admiserit."

342. **Dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus.** Claudius was at Ostia at the time. He had all along been strangely blind to the conduct of Messalina. After she had publicly married Silius in the manner described, Narcissus, the favourite freedman, caused him to be informed of the disgrace which had been put upon him. He ordered Silius to be put to death, but would probably have spared Messalina had not Narcissus taken the matter into his own hands. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 330-1.

343. **imperio,** *i.e.* the command of Messalina.

vita dierum paucorum. If he obeyed he would live till it reached the emperor's ears; if he refused he would die at once.

344. **Quidquid**=*utrum*, whichever of the two.

345. **praebenda est . . . cervix,** *i.e.* for decapitation.

347. **expendere,** to consider. Conf. line 147, "expende Hannibalem," where it means "weigh": here it is metaphorical.

350. **illis,** to the gods.

354. **et poscas,** ask something as well, *i.e.* besides waiting for what they may give.

sacellis, the shrines where the Lares were placed.

355. **divina,** served to the gods.

tomacula, sausages (τέμνω). They were usually roasted on a gridiron and eaten hot. Conf. Mart. i. 42, 9, "fumantia qui tomacla raucus circumfert tepidis coquus popinis."

candiduli . . . porci. A white pig was offered at marriages. For the diminutive form of the adjective, see note on line 82.

356. **mens sana in corpore sano.** Conf. Sen. *Ep.* 10, 4,

"roga bonam mentem, bonam valetudinem animi, deinde tunc corporis."

357, etc. Juvenal seems to be giving a picture of the Stoic ideal. Thus "mortis terrore carentem" suggests "nobile letum Catonis"; "nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil" the Stoic ἀπαθεία; while 360-1 are an approach to the paradox that virtue is sufficient for happiness, and the wise man can be happy even on the rack.

358. "Which accounts length of days as the last among the gifts of nature." It is much better to take *extremum* as a predicate than as a mere epithet of *spatium*, as in line 275, "spatia ultima vitae."

360. **potiores Herculis aerumnas credat.** See the allegory called "The choice of Hercules," ascribed to Prodicus of Ceos, and given by Xenophon in the *Memorabilia*, book ii. 1, § 21 *seq.*

362. **pluma**, the feathered couches. See *Sat.* i. 159, "pensilibus plumis."

Sardanapali. Sardanapalus was the last king of Assyria. He is always spoken of as the type of luxury and effeminacy. Arbactus the Mede, at last disdaining to serve so effeminate a master, made a conspiracy against him, and Sardanapalus collected his treasures on to a funeral pyre and burnt himself with them upon it.

363. **quod ipse tibi possis dare.** Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 18, 112, "det vitam (*i.e.* Iupiter) det opes: aequum mi animum ipse parabo."

365. **Nullum numen habes**—"You, O Fortune, have no divinity if wisdom is present," *i.e.* Wisdom is the true guide of life, and it is only those who do not see this who regard fortune as a goddess. Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 20. Seneca says "errant qui aut boni aliquid aut mali iudicant tribuere fortunam." Another reading is *abest*, which would mean, "if one has wisdom, one has every deity." These two lines are repeated in *Sat.* xiv. 315-6.

SATIRE XI

1. **Atticus.** Ti. Claudius Atticus, an Athenian, discovered an immense treasure, which Nerva allowed him to keep. He was father of the rhetorician, Herodes Atticus.

lautus, duly magnificent.

2. **Rutilus**—some spendthrift whose fortune was gone. *Sat.* xiv. 18.

maiore cachinno. Conf. *Sat.* iii. 100.

3. **pauper Apicius**—"Apicius playing the poor man," *i.e.* if Atticus were not to dine splendidly, people would laugh at him as they did at Apicius, who starved himself to death because he only had 10,000,000 sesterces left. See note on *Sat.* iv. 23. So Atticus would be a *pauper Apicius* if he did not dine *eximie.*

4. **convictus**=*convivia.* Friedländer remarks that owing to the Roman hour for dining, and the length to which this meal was usually protracted, social gatherings for other purposes than feasting were very rare. See *Sat.* i. 145.

thermae, the public baths. See note on *Sat.* vii. 233, and viii. 168. The baths were a general rendezvous at the eighth hour of the day. Recitations were sometimes held there, and it was the great place for gossip. Martial says, v. 20, that if he could spend his day as he liked his places of resort would be "gestatio, fabulae, libelli, Campus, porticus, umbra, virgo, thermae."

stationes were places for lounging and conversation, equivalent to the Greek λέσχαι and our "clubs." They are called *fabulae* in the passage of Martial cited above. There were apparently special places in and about the Forum called by this name, though sometimes the porches of temples would serve as the place of meeting. The term *circuli* is apparently another name for these places, although, as we know from Pliny, the game of ball was sometimes played at these. Cicero says to Atticus, *Ep. ad Att.* i. 18, 2, "hac in oppressione sermo in circulis et in conviviis est liberior quam fuit." See also Plin. *Ep.* i. 13.

5. **iuvenalia**=youthful, in the sense of vigorous: *iuvenilia* =youthful, in the sense of immature.

6. **sufficiunt galeae.** Conf. *Sat.* vii. 33, "aetas et pelagi patiens et cassidis"; the meaning is, "while he is of an age for military service."

fertur, he is reported, *i.e.* in the clubs and baths, etc.

7. **non cogente quidem, sed nec prohibente tribuno.** Conf. *Sat.* viii. 193, "nullo cogente Nerone." Some have thought that *tribuno* here refers to the emperor's *tribunicia potestas*, just as he is called *pontifex summus* in *Sat.* iv. 46. The real explanation, however, is found in an inscription recently discovered in Spain, and published with a commentary by Mommsen in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vii. 388 foll., from which it appears that every freeman who voluntarily gave himself up to a *lanista* (see next note) had to register his name with one of the *tribuni plebis*—"is autem qui aput tribunum plebei c(larissimum) v(irum) sponte ad dimicandum

profitebitur," etc. In reference to this function of the tribune, there was of course no compulsion, though he might perhaps have used his power of *intercessio* to save an unfortunate citizen from degradation. As magistrates, however, with a certain judicial power (conf. *Sat.* vii. 229, and Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 28), the tribunes might, by selling a spendthrift's estate to his creditors, practically drive him to the gladiatorial school. Conf. Sen. *Ep.* 99, 13, "adspice illos iuvenes quos ex nobilissimis domibus in arenam luxuria proiecit."

8. **scripturus leges et regia verba lanistae,** "intending to write out and sign the conditions and tyrannical words of the gladiatorial trainer." The *lanista* was the owner of a *ludus gladiatorius, i.e.* he kept and trained in his school a number of gladiators, whom he hired out, or probably more frequently sold to the *editores* of shows. The gladiators who formed their *familiae* were probably most of them slaves bought and sold by the *lanistae* in the ordinary way. So we hear that Vitellius sold his favourite Asiaticus to a *circumforaneus lanista, i.e.* one who travelled about with his *familia* among the various municipal towns. Hadrian, however, put some check on this traffic by preventing a master from selling his slave to a *lanista,* "causa non praestita," *i.e.* probably without appearing before a magistrate and proving that the slave had committed some crime. But under the empire it was not an uncommon thing for freemen, sometimes even for men of equestrian or senatorial rank, from various reasons voluntarily to become gladiators. The commonest cause was no doubt extravagance, ending in bankruptcy and beggary, though pure love of bloodshed seems to have actuated some. Disgraceful as this profession was regarded for a freeman (see *Sat.* viii. 199 foll.), it was allowed by law under certain safeguards. Those who wished "auctorare se lanistae" (voluntary gladiators were called *auctorati*) had to accompany the *lanista* to one of the *tribuni plebis,* with whom the would-be gladiator had to register his name, and to take a solemn oath agreeing "uri vinciri ferroque necari." Conf. Sen. *Ep.* 37, "illius turpissimi auctoramenti verba sunt: 'uri vinciri ferroque necari.' Ab his qui manus arenae locant . . . cavetur ut ista vel inviti patiantur." Also Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7, 59, "quid refert uri virgis ferroque necari auctoratus eas?" These are of course the *regia verba lanistae.* On the other hand, the *lanista* had to pay a sum of 2000 sesterces to the *auctoratus,* a sum intentionally small, in order that it might be no great inducement for many so to degrade themselves. Up to the time of Marcus Aurelius the *lanista* had to pay a *vectigal* to the *fiscus* of 25 or 33 per cent, which brought in 200,000 or 300,000 sesterces annually. This, however, that emperor abolished (see the Spanish inscription

already alluded to). For further particulars, see Marquardt, *Staatsverw.*, iii. 559 foll.; and Friedländer, *Sittengesch.*, ii.[3] 343 foll.

10. **macelli**, the provision market. See note on *Sat.* v. 95.

12. **Egregius** is the comparative for *magis egregie*, "more splendidly than others." Juvenal means that the more in debt a man is the more luxuriously he lives.

13. **perlucente ruina.** Conf. *Sat.* iii. 196. A metaphor from a house so dilapidated that daylight appears through the cracks in it.

14. **gustus**, fresh flavours.

elementa per omnia, through earth, water, and air. Conf. *Sat.* v. 94.

15. **animo . . . obstantibus**, "standing in the way of their desire."

interius = ἀκριβέστερον.

16. **si attendas . . . iuvant.** Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 143, x. 339.

17. **Ergo**, "therefore in the case of such men."

perituram, which is sure to be squandered. Conf. *Sat.* i. 18, "periturae parcere chartae."

arcessere, to raise.

18. **lancibus oppositis**, by pawning his silver dishes. Prof. Mayor quotes Catullus, 26, who puns on the word: "villula nostra non ad Austri flatus opposita est neque ad Favoni verum ad milia quindecim et ducentos."

matris imagine fracta. This was probably not a bust but one of the *argenteae facies*, silver medallions spoken of by Pliny. It was broken to avoid recognition.

19. **quadringentis nummis**—400 sesterces, a considerable sum for a man who is compelled to eat off earthenware (*fictile*) because his silver plate is pawned.

condire gulosum fictile, "to load a plain earthenware dish with dainty food." *gulosum fictile* is an instance, as Prof. Mayor shows, of *contradictio in adiecto*, like "ambitiosa paupertas," "strenua ignavia," etc.

20. **ad miscellanea ludi.** *ludus* is the gladiatorial school, see *Sat.* viii. 199. *miscellanea* was the fare, composed of various ingredients, which was given to the gladiators.

21. **Refert**, it makes all the difference. Conf. "distat," *Sat.* vii. 194.

22. **Ventidio**; probably not Ventidius Bassus mentioned in *Sat.* vii. 199. There was a Ventidius Cumanus under Claudius, who was procurator of Judaea, and is mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. In any case he is some rich man.

laudabile nomen sumit = *lautus habetur*, see line 1.

25. **hic tamen idem ignoret.** To make the sentence grammatically accurate, *hic* should be *qui*, because *despiciam* is the only principal verb. We can translate "while he at the same time." Then notice the difference of mood, *qui scit* and *hic ignoret*. There is a causal connection between the latter and *despiciam*, I will despise him because he is ignorant, —not because he knows.

26. **arca.** Conf. *Sat.* i. 90, and x. 25, etc.

27. *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*. This is a saying sometimes attributed to Thales, sometimes to Chilon, sometimes to the Delphic oracle, where it was inscribed. Xen. *Mem.* iv. 2, 24. Cicero says, *de Fin.* v. § 44, "aliter enim nosmet ipsos nosse non possumus; quod praeceptum quia maius erat quam ut ab homine videretur idcirco assignatum est deo." Socrates used the maxim in the sense of "know thine own capabilities and live accordingly." Here it is, of course, "know thine own means and spend accordingly."

29. **sacri . . . senatus**, the revered senate. The senatorial census was *decies sestertium* = 1,000,000 sesterces.

31. **Thersites.** See on *Sat.* viii. 269.

se traducebat, exposed himself to ridicule, *i.e.* as being so inferior to Achilles. The contest between Ulysses and Ajax for the arms of Achilles has been twice referred to—*Sat.* vii. 115 and x. 84. Livy, ii. 38, uses *traducere* in this sense. See *Sat.* viii. 17, "squalentes traducit avos," and vii. 16.

32. **magno discrimine**, "at a great risk," or abl. of quality, "of great importance"; the first is better.

33. **te consule**, consult your own powers.

34. **orator**—opposed here to Matho, the *causidicus* mentioned in *Sat.* i. 32, and xii. 129. See note on *Sat.* vii. 106.

buccae, mere wind-bags. Conf. *Sat.* iii. 35.

35. **mensura sui**, one's own measure.

36. **in summis minimisque.** Conf. *Sat.* i. 14, "a summo minimoque poeta."

37. **mullum.** See note on *Sat.* iv. 15.

38. **in loculis.** Conf. *Sat.* i. 89, "loculis comitantibus."

deficiente crumina, as your purse fails. Another reading is *culina*, but conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 4, 11.

39. **crescente gula.** Conf. *Sat.* v. 94, "dum gula saevit."

40. **fenoris**, the interest of your capital. The word is derived from an old root *feo*, connected with *φύω*, "to produce" (conf. Greek *τόκος* from *τίκτω*), from which also come *fetus* and *fecundus*.

41. **argenti gravis**, massive plate. These genitives are of course governed by *capacem*, "which can hold."

43. **anulus**, the mark of equestrian rank. See note on *Sat.* vii. 89. Conf. Mart. ii. 57.

Pollio—some spendthrift of the day.

44. **funus acerbum**, an early death. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 429, "funere mersit acerbo." The word *acerbum* is a metaphor from fruit plucked before it is ripe. With "praematuri cineres" and "funus acerbum" *metuenda* has to be supplied, and *luxuriae* is the dative of the agent after the gerundive. The meaning is that the luxurious fear an old age of want much more than an early death.

46. **Hi plerumque gradus**, "this is usually the rake's progress."

conducta pecunia, money borrowed at interest. Conf. *Sat.* vii. 143, "conducta sardonyche." Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 9.

47. **coram dominis**, in the sight of the owners of the money, *i.e.* the lenders.

48. **pallet**, for fear he should lose his debt.

49. **qui vertere solum.** Cicero, *pro Caecina,* 100, says "qui volunt aliquam poenam subterfugere aut calamitatem eo solum vertunt, hoc est sedem ac locum mutant." The phrase means "to emigrate," or "go into a voluntary exile."

Baias et ad ostrea. For a description of life at Baiae, see Becker's *Gallus*, pp. 85-97. It was the most fashionable seaside resort. The debtor who dare not face his creditors at Rome retires to the luxury and pleasures of Baiae. On the oyster-beds in the Lucrine Lake near Baiae, see note to *Sat.* iv. 140. Instead of *ad ostrea* many editions read *ad Ostia,* on which see note to *Sat.* viii. 171.

50. **Cedere . . . foro.** Conf. *Sat.* x. 24, "ut maxima toto nostra sit arca foro." The Forum was the place where bankers carried on their business, and so *cedere foro* meant to be insolvent or bankrupt, just as *versari in foro* meant the opposite.

51. **Esquilias**, on the north-east of Rome. Juvenal calls it "gelidas," *Sat.* v. 77, and Horace "salubres," *Sat.* i. 8, 14. It was one of the better quarters where the rich lived.

Subura. See *Sat.* iii. 5, and v. 106. It was a close, dirty, and noisy part of the city.

52. **Ille . . . illa**—by attraction instead of *illud,* to agree in gender with *dolor* and *maestitia.* Conf. "Pompeius quod imperi populi Romani decus ac lumen fuit," Cic. *Phil.* ii. 54.

53. **caruisse . . . Circensibus.** See note on *Sat.* iii. 223,

and x. 81. Conf. also vi. 87, "utque magis stupeas, ludos Paridemque reliquit."

54. **Sanguinis gutta**, a drop of blood, *i.e.* the capability of blushing. Conf. "sanguine ferventem," *Sat.* x. 301.

55. **ridiculum fugientem**, fleeing amid ridicule.

57. **Persice**, a friend whom Juvenal is inviting to dinner.

praestem, make good, carry out.

58. **si laudem siliquas**. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 123, "vivit siliquis et pane secundo"; Pers. iii. 55; and Hor. *Ep.* i. 7, 35, "nec somnum plebis laudo satur altilium."

pultes. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 171, "grandes fumabant pultibus ollae." In early times the *puls* or gruel was the principal article of food. Pliny, *H. N.* xviii. 83, says "Pulte non pane vixisse longo tempore Romanos manifestum." Martial also, xiii. 8, speaks of "plebeias pultes."

60. **habebis Evandrum**, you shall have an Evander as your host. Evander was an Italian king whose town was on the spot where Rome was afterwards founded. Vergil, *Aen.* viii. 175 *seq.*, describes the visit of Aeneas to him, and the primitive and homely nature of his entertainment. See also *ib.* line 359.

61. **Tirynthius**—Hercules, whose mother Alcmene is said to have belonged to Tiryns in Argolis. Evander tells Aeneas, Verg. *loc. cit.* 360, that "haec limina victor Alcides subiit," *i.e.* he had entertained Hercules after his victory over Cacus.

minor illo, *i.e.* Aeneas, who though less than Hercules, was yet of divine origin through his mother Venus, *contingens sanguine caelum.*

63. **alter aquis**. Aeneas was said to have disappeared during a battle against the Rutulians. Tradition said that he was drowned in the river Numicius, near which a temple was built in his honour by the Latins.

alter flammis. Hercules, tortured by the shirt of Nessus, placed himself upon a funeral pyre and burnt himself to death.

64. **Fercula**, the courses, bill of fare. See note on *Sat.* i. 94.

macellis. See on *Sat.* v. 95, and conf. Mart. x. 59. Juvenal's repast was got not from the city markets but from his own garden or farm.

66. **haedulus**. Conf. Mart. x. 48, 13-14, "Una ponetur cenula mensa, haedus inhumani raptus ab ore lupi." This epigram of Martial gives a good specimen of a frugal dinner, consisting, however, of the *gustatio*, *cena*, and *mensae secundae.*

"Exoneraturas ventrem mihi vilica malvas
adtulit et varias, quas habet hortus, opes,
in quibus est lactuca sedens et sectile porrum:

nec deest ructatrix mentha, nec herba salax.
Secta coronabunt rutatos ova lacertos,
et madidum thynni de sale sumen erit.
Gustus in his. Una ponetur cenula mensa,
haedus inhumani raptus ab ore lupi,
et quae non egeant ferro structoris ofellae,
et faba fabrorum, prototomique rudes.
Pullus ad haec cenisque tribus iam perna superstes
addetur; saturis mitia poma dabo."

The *gustatio*, which was intended as a sort of whet to the appetite, consisted usually of vegetables, or shell-fish and *mulsum* (*i.e.* wine and honey), from which it was sometimes called *promulsis.* The *cena* or dinner proper consisted of various *fercula*, of which sometimes a peacock, sometimes a wild-boar, was the *pièce de résistance.* The *mensae secundae* were the dessert. See Becker's *Gallus*, pp. 456-7.

inscius herbae, *i.e.* still a suckling.

69. **posito . . . fuso**, her distaff laid aside. For **vilica**, see the first line of the passage quoted above from Martial. She was the wife of the *vilicus* of Juvenal's farm at Tibur.

70. **calentia faeno.** Conf. Mart. iii. 27, "tuta faeno cursor ova portabat."

71. **servatae . . . uvae.** Grapes were preserved by being shut up in air-tight vessels, or placed in sawdust, or hung up in the sun.

72. **parte anni**, abl. of duration. See note on *Sat.* vii. 235; and see line 53, "caruisse anno Circensibus uno," and vii. 97.

73. **Signinum Syriumque pirum.** Signia was a town in Latium. The pears from there were of a reddish colour, and were hence called *testacea.* Vergil, *Georg.* ii. 88, couples "Crustumiis Syriisque piris gravibusque volemis." The Syrian pears were sometimes called Tarentine.

74. **Picenis.** Horace alludes to the excellence of the Picenian apples, *Sat.* ii. 4, 70, "Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia succo."

76. **autumnum . . . posuere.** Juvenal is writing in April, just before the Megalesian games, which commenced on the 3d of the month.

77. **iam luxuriosa**, already somewhat luxurious, *i.e.* as compared with the frugal fare of Curius Dentatus.

78. **Curius**—M. Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus; see *Sat.* viii. 4. Horace, *Od.* i. 12, 41, calls him "incomptis Curium capillis." Conf. *Sat.* ii. 3, "Qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt."

80. **in magna . . . compede fossor**, *i.e.* a slave working

in a chained gang, and confined by night in the *ergastulum;* see note on *Sat.* viii. 180. Pliny, *H. N.* xviii. 21, says, "nunc eadem illa vincti pedes, damnatae manus, inscriptique vultus exercent."

81. **vulva.** Horace says, *Ep.* i. 15, 41, "nil vulva pulchrius ampla."

popinae. See note on *Sat.* viii. 158. The man, when he had belonged to the *urbana familia,* had frequented these cookshops, as slaves did; conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 14, 22, "uncta popina."

82. **crate** was the rack or frame, with wide bars (*rara*), on which the smoked ham was suspended.

83. **moris erat.** Conf. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* iv. 5, "est hoc Gallicae consuetudinis," and Cic. *in Ver.* i. 26, "negavit moris esse Graecorum," etc.

84. **natalicium cognatis ponere lardum.** On birthdays a sacrifice was offered to the *genius,* and relations and friends invited to a feast. Conf. Cic. *Phil.* ii. § 15, "dat nataliciam (dapem) in hortis"; and Mart. xi. 65, "sexcenti cenant a te, Iustine, vocati lucis ad officium quae tibi prima fuit," and *supra, Sat.* iv. 37.

85. **accedente,** "being added," *i.e.* to the frugal fare mentioned above.

86. **titulo** goes with *functus* by zeugma; **ter** goes with *consulis.*

88. **solito maturius,** in honour of the day and the unusual dainties.

89. **domito,** *i.e.* by the *ligo.* Words like *subigere, imperare,* etc., were often used in relation to the soil. We are told that Cincinnatus was found at his plough by the messenger who announced to him that he was made Dictator.

90. **Fabios.** All the names which follow are of distinguished censors. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus and P. Decius were censors together in 304 B.C., Liv. x. 24, and restricted the *libertini* to the four *tribus urbanae.*

durum Catonem. M. Porcius Cato the elder was called pre-eminently the Censor. He held the office in 184 B.C., and was conspicuous for his opposition not only to the luxury but to much of the culture of his time.

91. **Scauros.** Conf. *Sat.* ii. 35, "fictos Scauros." M. Aemilius Scaurus, *princeps senatus,* was censor in 109 B.C. He passed a sumptuary law. Horace and Cicero speak of him in terms of praise; Sallust describes him as a man really corrupt, though usually maintaining a prudent appearance of virtue, *Iug.* 15, § 4. Conf. Hor. *Od.* i. 12, 37.

Fabricium. C. Fabricius Luscinus was censor in 275 B.C. He removed from the senate P. Cornelius Rufinus, who had been both consul and dictator, because he possessed ten pounds of silver plate. The story about Fabricius and Pyrrhus is well known. Conf. *Sat.* ix. 143, "sed quae Fabricius censor notet."

severos censoris mores etiam collega timeret. The episode referred to is narrated by Livy, xxix. 37. M. Livius Salinator and C. Claudius Nero were censors in 204 B.C. The former had some years previously been condemned on a charge of corruption. In taking the census of the *equites equo publico,* to whom Salinator belonged as well as his colleague, the latter "sive residua et vetere simultate, sive intempestiva iactatione severitatis inflatus, M. Livium quia populi iudicio esset damnatus, equum vendere iussit," *i.e.* had him removed from the *equites.*

92. **timeret,** of course introduced by *cum.*

94. **qualis testudo.** See on xi. 94, and conf. iii. 91.

in Oceano fluctu. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* iv. 12, "mare Oceanus." For *testudo,* conf. *Sat.* vi. 80, "testudineo conopeo." Beds were overlaid with tortoise-shell. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 308, and Mart. xii. 66, "gemmantes prima fulgent testudine lecti."

95. **Troiugenis.** See note on *Sat.* i. 100.

fulcrum. The *fulcra* were the props or legs of the Roman *triclinia* and beds. They were frequently made of tortoise-shell or ivory, and were ornamented with sphinxes, griffins, and other beasts.

96. "But the brazen front on the couches bare of side and small in size," etc.; **nudo latere** (abl. of quality) and **parvis** are coupled together as epithets of *lectis.* Prof. Mayor cites Ov. *Met.* i. 19, "frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia siccis, mollia cum duris sine pondere habentia pondus." Conf. note on *Sat.* iii. 48.

97. **coronati caput . . . aselli,** the head of an ass, an animal sacred to Bacchus, and therefore appropriate for *triclinia,* was roughly depicted on the bronze front of the *lectus.* *coronati,* crowned with vine leaves.

98. **ruris alumni;** probably the little slave-boys, whom Horace calls "vernas procaces," *Sat.* ii. 6, 66. The derivation of *alumnus* is *aluminus,* an old participial form from *alo.*

100. **Graias mirari nescius artes.** Horace, *Ep.* ii. 1, 156, says, "Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio." What Juvenal particularly refers to here is the mania for getting possession of articles of vertu, which first showed itself at Rome after the capture of Syracuse by Marcellus in 212

B.C. Conf. Liv. xxv. 40, "inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera," etc. After the capture of Corinth, too, by Mummius in 146 B.C. an immense wealth of pictures and statues was carried off. See *Sat.* viii. 110.

102. **magnorum artificum . . . pocula**, the genitive of the author. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 103, "nec non Polycliti multus ubique labor; rarae sine Mentore mensae," and iii. 217, "aliquid praeclarum Euphranoris et Polycliti."

103. **phaleris**, the trappings of the war-horse, often adorned with ornaments of gold and silver, as Livy shows, xxii. 52, "si quid argenti quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat." Conf. *Sat.* xvi. 60.

caelata—embossed as cups were embossed, opposed to *leve argentum.*

104. **Romuleae . . . ferae**, the she-wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus. Vergil describes (*Aen.* viii. 630) a shield with a similar device.

105. **geminos sub rupe Quirinos.** Quirinus was another name for Romulus; see on *Sat.* iii. 67. Romulus and Remus are called Quirini, as Castor and Pollux are called *Castores*, a king and queen *reges*, father and mother *patres*, etc.

106. **venientis.** Munro notices that *venire* is used in a semi-technical sense of advancing against the enemy. Conf. line 113.

107. **pendentis**, hanging in the air.

108. **Argenti quod erat.** See the passage of Livy quoted on line 103.

109. **Tusco . . . catino**, in a dish of Tuscan earthenware. Conf. Mart. xiv. 98, "Lautus erat Tuscis Porsena fictilibus"; also Pers. ii. 60. A great many specimens of Tuscan pottery remain.

farrata=*pultes;* see *supra*, 58.

110. **quibus invideas**, were such as you would envy. Notice the consecutive force of the relative.

lividulus. See note on *pallidulus*, *Sat.* x. 82.

111. **vox . . . audita (est) per urbem**, etc. Livy tells the story here referred to, v. 32. M. Caedicius, a plebeian, told the tribunes that he had heard a voice, louder than human, in the dead of night, which bade him inform the magistrates that the Gauls were approaching. The god who was supposed to have uttered this warning was afterwards called Aius Locutius.

113. **litore ab Oceani.** Livy also says that the Gauls came from the ocean, which would of course be the Atlantic.

114. **His**, with signs like this.

116. **fictilis . . . Iupiter**, an earthenware Jupiter, *i.e.* a clay or earthen image, instead of a golden one. The phrase was a common one. Seneca (*Ep.* 31, 11) says, "Cogita deos, cum propitii essent, fictiles fuisse." Cicero (*de Div.* 1, § 16) talks of the temple of Jupiter, "qui tum erat fictilis." Prof. Mayor gives other passages.

violatus. Conf. *Sat.* iii. 20, "nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum."

117. **nostraque ex arbore mensas**, "tables made from home-grown trees." On the imported citrus-wood tables and the sums paid for them, see notes to *Sat.* i. 75 and 137; xiv. 188.

118. **lignum**—properly, as here, applied to a tree when either cut or blown down.

121. **rhombus.** See *Sat.* iv. 39.

122. **unguenta.** See *Sat.* iv. 107, viii. 86, and xv. 50.

rosae. For the use of roses at banquets, see note on *coronati*, *Sat.* v. 36.

latos . . . orbes. These citrus-wood tables were called *orbes*, not because they were round, but because they were whole sections of the trunk. Pliny mentions one 4 feet in diameter and 6 inches thick. Conf. *Sat.* i. 137.

123. **grande ebur.** Tables of this sort were called *monopodia*, because instead of having three legs, like the ordinary *tripodes*, they had only one support or column, which was usually of ivory. Conf. Mart. ii. 43, "Tu Libycos Indis suspendis dentibus orbes; fulcitur testa fagina mensa mihi."

sublimis, "rampant." The ivory column here takes the shape of an ivory leopard.

124. **dentibus ex illis**, made out of those tusks. Conf. Martial's expression, quoted above, "Indis dentibus."

porta Syenes. Syene (Assouan) was a frontier town in Upper Egypt, on the borders of Ethiopia. Any ivory sent to Rome from the interior of Africa would pass through Syene, and so through its gates. Another explanation is that *porta Syenes* is the narrow part of the Nile valley immediately below Syene, just as Cumae is called "ianua Baiarum" in *Sat.* iii. 4. If the story of Juvenal's banishment to Egypt is true, he may possibly, though it is hardly likely, have visited the spot.

125. **Mauri.** Elephants are not at the present day found so far north as this, but they may probably have been in Juvenal's time.

126. **quos deposuit Nabathaeo bellua saltu.** Nabathaea was a client kingdom in Arabia Petraea, with Petra as its

capital. In 106 A.D. Trajan ordered his legate, Cornelius Palma, to make part of the district into a province, which was called Arabia, and had Bostra, garrisoned by a legion, for its capital. Towns sprang up and civilisation followed, where now all is desert. No doubt caravans with ivory passed through the province, but elephants were never found there, and here, as elsewhere, Juvenal's geography and natural history are loose and inaccurate.

127. **iam nimios capitique graves.** Pliny also believed that elephants buried their tusks when they fell out either by accident or from old age. He also says that when surrounded by hunters they will break their tusks against trees, and so ransom themselves by the booty. There was much of the fabulous in the natural history of the ancients.

orexis, an appetite.

128. **pes argenteus**, etc. The silver-footed table was considered as common as an iron ring.

129. **anulus . . . ferreus.** Rings of iron were worn frequently in the earlier days of the Republic, and in later times by slaves. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* viii. 6, who says, speaking of the freedman Pallas, "erat enim contra maiestatem senatus, si ferreis anulis uteretur."

131. **Adeo nulla uncia . . . est**—"so literally am I without even an ounce." The clause had better be taken as parenthetical or explanatory of "res despicit exiguas." The *uncia* was the unit in solid measure, as the *cyathus* was for wine; see note on *Sat.* v. 32.

132. **tessellae**, dim. of *tesserae* (Greek κύβοι), were the ordinary six-sided dice, of which any two opposite sides counted together as seven. Three *tesserae* were usually thrown together, and the game was always played for money. The *tali* were rather different from this, having only four flat surfaces, the other sides being uneven or rounded, so that the die could not fall upon them. The dice were thrown in a *fritillus* or cup-shaped vessel on an *abacus* or *alveolus*, a little table with a rim round it.

calculus. The *calculi* were the pieces used in a game called *latrunculi*, which somewhat resembled chess, and was a sort of besieging game. The *calculi* were also called *milites*, *bellatores*, and *latrunculi*. They were usually made of glass. So Martial speaks of "vitreo latrone," vii. 72. They were made of two colours; conf. *id.* xiv. 17, "Calculus hic gemino discolor hoste perit." See, for a further description of the game, Becker's *Gallus*, pp. 502-3.

135. **peior gallina secatur**—"is the chicken worse when cut—"

136. **structor.** See note on *Sat.* v. 120.

debeat. There being no *structor*, the case is hypothetical, and so the subjunctive is regular.

137. **pergula**, school. See note on *Sat.* v. 120. *pergula* is used of a painter's studio by Pliny, and of a philosopher's school by Suetonius.

Trypheri doctoris, a professor of the art of carving, whose school was apparently in the Subura ; see *infra*, 141.

138. **pygargus**, a white-backed antelope.

139. **Scythicae volucres**, pheasants, usually called "Phasianae aves," because they were said to have come originally from near the river Phasis in Colchis, which was in the midst of the Scythian country.

phoenicopterus, a flamingo. Vitellius and Apicius are said to have had dishes made of the tongues of these birds. Martial says, xiii. 71, "Dat mihi penna rubens nomen: sed lingua gulosis nostra sapit."

140. **oryx**, a one-horned goat.

lautissima agrees with *cena*, "a splendid dinner all of wood."

141. **ulmea cena**, *i.e.* the wooden models on which the students in the art practised with blunt knives. See *Sat.* v. 120.

142. **subducere**, to pilfer.

Afrae . . . avis—perhaps the guinea-fowl. Conf. Mart. xiii. 73, "Ansere Romano quamvis satur Hannibal esset, ipse suas numquam barbarus edit aves" ; and Hor. *Epod.* ii. 53.

143. **tirunculus.** Conf. *petasunculus*, etc. See Appendix II.

144. **imbutus**, trained in, and so versed in.

ofellae. Mart. xii. 48, "me meus ad subitas invitat amicus ofellas."

146. **incultus puer.** Contrast with this the "flos Asiae," who serves the rich host, in *Sat.* v. 56.

a frigore tutus, well and warmly clad. Conf. *Sat.* i. 93, "horrenti tunicam non reddere servo."

147. **mangone**, a slave-dealer, connected with μαγγανεύω, "to use charms, to adulterate," referring to the chicanery of slave-dealers.

148. **in magno**, etc., "when you bid him 'fill me a big bumper,' bid him in Latin." Conf. Petron. *Trim.* 65, "capaciorem poposcit scyphum."

149. **tonsi rectique capilli.** The boy-slaves of the rich were usually made to wear their hair long and curled. Conf. note on "Acersecomes," *Sat.* viii. 128 ; Mart. iii. 58, "lascivi parere gaudent vilico capillati," and ii. 57, "quem grex togatus sequitur et capillatus."

155. **ardens purpura.** The *toga praetexta*, worn by noble youths ever since the time of Tarquinius Priscus, who introduced it, together with the *bulla*, from Etruria, was bordered with a purple stripe.

159. **diffusa**; see note on *Sat.* v. 30.

in montibus illis, *i.e.* the Sabine Hills; it was "vile Sabinum."

162. **Gaditana**, sc. *carmina*, is semi-cogn. acc. with *prurire*, "to warble wanton Gaditanian songs." The subj. of *incipiant* is *puellae*. Conf. Mart. iii. 62, "Gaditana susurrat," and v. 75, "nec de Gadibus improbis puellae." Conf. Plin. *Ep.* i. 15.

171. **capit**, has room for, $=$ χωρεῖ. Conf. *Sat.* x. 148, "quem non capit Africa."

172. **testarum**, castanets, *i.e.* pieces of wood or bone held by the dancers between their fingers and rattled as they danced.

173. **mancipium.** This word originally meant anything bought and sold. It was derived from *manus* and *capio*, and had reference to the formality of putting the thing transferred into the hand of the purchaser, so that *res mancipii* meant articles which could be legally transferred or alienated to another; as slaves were in early times one of the chief of such articles, the word became restricted to them. Contrast the history of the word *pecunia*.

175. **qui Lacedaemonium pytismate lubricat orbem**, "who makes his pavement of Lacedaemonian marble slippery with the wine he spits from his mouth." *Lacedaemonium orbem* means the mosaic pavement made of small circular pieces of marble, a peculiar kind of which, green in colour, was got from Mt. Taygetus in Laconia. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 89. *pytismate* (Grk. πύτισμα) was the custom of tasting wine and then spitting it out again. Terence, *Haut.* 118, 49, has the expression "pytisando quid vini absumpsit." Conf. Hor. *Od.* ii. 14, 26, "mero tinget pavimentum superbo." The man who does this—*i.e.* who has a marble floor to spit out his wine upon—is the rich luxurious man. This sort of pavement was called "pavimentum sectile."

176. **ibi**, in his case: **alea**, see note on line 132.

177. **mediocribus.** Conf. *Sat.* v. 108, "modicis amicis."

180. **cantabitur**, shall be recited. Recitations—ἀκρωάματα—were common at dinner-time. Slaves were frequently kept, called *lectores*, for this special purpose. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* i. 15, 2, "audisses comoedos vel lectorem vel lyristen."

181. **dubiam facientia carmina palmam.** So Propertius said of Vergil, ii. 34, 65-6, "Cedite, Romani scriptores; cedite, Graii; nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade." Conf. Sat. vi. 436.

"Committit vates et comparat, inde Maronem atque alia parte in trutina suspendit Homerum."

182. **qua voce legantur**, *i.e.* however untrained the *lector* may be.

191. **quidquid frangitur illis**, "whatever is broken by their instrumentality." The slaves are regarded as chattels more than as agents, and so the preposition is omitted.

193. **Megalesiacae mappae.** The Megalesian Games in honour of Cybele, the Great Mother, about whose introduction to Rome in 204 B.C. mention is made in *Sat.* iii. 138 ("hospes numinis Idaei"), were celebrated from the 4th to the 10th of April. Under the Empire they were provided by the praetor. They were held in the Circus, and consisted mainly of chariot racing. The praetor started the races by dropping a white napkin (*mappa*). Conf. Mart. xii. 24, "Cretatam praetor cum vellet mittere mappam." **spectacula** is nom. = the spectators. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 205. Other instances of abstr. for concr. are *gula* = glutton; *honor summus* = consul; "Titanida pugnam," viii. 132; "praecedentia officia," x. 44; "potestas," x. 100; "toto certamine," xv. 55.

similis triumpho. Conf. *Sat.* x. 35 *seq.*, where the procession headed by the praetor to the Circus from the Capitol is minutely described.

195. **praeda caballorum**, "the prey of the chariot horses," *i.e.* ruined by the expense of providing these games. Martial, x. 41, has an epigram to a lady who was divorcing her husband because he was a praetor and had to spend 100,000 sesterces for the Megalesian Games—"Constatura fuit Megalensis purpura centum milibus." Again, in iv. 67, a praetor says to a friend who wanted to borrow 10,000 sesterces, "Scis me Scorpo Thalloque daturum (famous charioteers) atque utinam centum milia sola darem." See *Sat.* vii. 114. The *ludi Apollinares* sometimes cost as much as 380,000 sesterces.

196. **pace . . . plebis**, "with the leave of," abl. of condition.

nimiae, overgrown.

197. **totam hodie Romam circus capit**, "the Circus contains all Rome to-day." On the size of the Circus, the number of spectators, etc., see notes to *Sat.* iii. 223, and x. 81.

fragor. On the noise of the Circus, conf. *Sat.* viii. 59, "rauco circo."

198. **eventum viridis quo colligo panni.** On the four *factiones* at the Circus, see note to *Sat.* vii. 114. The green faction was favoured by Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, and appears to have been generally the most popular during the first century. Conf. Mart. xi. 33, "Saepius ad palmam prasinus

post fata Neronis pervenit, et victor praemia plura refert;" also xiv. 131, "Si veneto prasinove faves." Plin. *Ep.* ix. 6, "Si tamen aut velocitate equorum aut hominum arte traherentur, esset ratio nonnulla; nunc favent panno, pannum amant." *eventum* is success. *colligo*, I infer, =Gk. *συμβιβάζω*.

199. **si deficeret** = *si vinceretur prasinus.*

200. **Cannarum in pulvere.** Conf. Liv. xxii. 46, "ventus (Vulturnum incolae regionis vocant), adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit."

201. **consulibus** — L. Aemilius Paulus and C. Terentius Varro, 216 B.C.

Spectent, *i.e.* at the chariot racing.

202. **Sponsio**, betting.

203. **cuticula.** Conf. *Sat.* x. 192, "pro cute pellem."

bibat . . . solem, bask in the sunshine. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 20, 24, "solibus aptum"; and Pers. iv. 18, "adsiduo curata cuticula sole."

vernum. For the date of the Megalesia, see above.

204. **effugiatque togam.** Etiquette required all Roman citizens, especially in the presence of the emperor, to wear the *toga* in the Circus. This in the summer time was a great infliction owing to the heat, while in bad weather some additional covering was needed, and on occasions of the sort the *lacerna* was worn over the *toga*, but had to be removed on the appearance of any one of high rank. See note on *Sat.* i. 27. Martial, x. 47, mentions among the things which make a happy life "toga rara." See also *Sat.* iii. 172, "nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus."

salva fronte, "with unblushing brow." Conf. *Sat.* i. 48, "salvis nummis."

205. **quamquam solida hora supersit ad sextam.** The usual hour for bathing was the eighth, *i.e.* the hour before dinner, see Mart. xi. 52; but in holiday time—and so during the Megalesian Games—no doubt many would bathe earlier. To dine early was a sign of idleness and luxury. Conf. the expression "tempestiva convivia," and in such cases of course the bathing would be early too. Poor clients, weary with accompanying their patrons, sometimes could not get to their baths till the tenth hour, "balnea post decimam lasso, centumque petuntur quadrantes."

206. **quinque diebus continuis**, *i.e.* on the five days of the Megalesian Games.

207. **talis . . . vitae**, *i.e.* a life of leisure.

SATIRE XII

1. **Natali . . . die.** See note on *Sat.* xi. 84, and conf. Hor. *Od.* xiv. 11, "iure solemnis mihi sanctiorque paene natali proprio."

2. **cespes**, an altar of turf, usually made for some special sacrifice ; as here, for Juvenal's votive offering for the safe return of Catullus.

3. **Niveam . . . agnam.** White animals were always offered to the upper gods.

Reginae—Juno, who was worshipped at Rome under the title of "Iuno Regina." There was a temple to her on the Aventine, founded by Camillus after his return from Veii. She was also worshipped in the Capitoline temple. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 46, "ast ego quae divum incedo regina."

4. **pugnanti Gorgone Maura**—Minerva, who carried on her *aegis* the head of the Gorgon Medusa, which turned beholders into stone. Perseus is said to have killed her in Mauretania ; hence the epithet *Maura.* *Gorgone* is the abl. of instrument, the Gorgon being used for the shield itself. Conf. Prop. v. 9, 58.

5. **procul extensum.** Victims were led to the altar by means of a long slack rope, in order that they might not seem to be dragged there reluctantly, which would have been a bad omen.

petulans, butting, from *peto.* Vergil has "iam fronte petit." From the same root are *im-pet-us*, *penna* (*pet-na*), *πέτ-ομαι*, *πίπτω* (*πι-πετ-ω*), etc.

6. **Tarpeio . . . Iovi.** The Tarpeian rock, down which criminals were hurled, was an abrupt precipice at the southern extremity of the Capitoline Hill, hence *Tarpeio*=*Capitolino.* Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 78, and vi. 47, "Tarpeium limen adora."

frontemque coruscat, brandishes his forehead, and so his horns. *coruscare* is primarily used of the quick motion of light or flame, conf. *ἀργίποδες*, bright-footed, and so swift-footed. Conf. what Horace (*Od.* iv. 2, 58) says of a *vitulus*, "fronte curvatos imitatus ignes."

7. **templis maturus.** Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 53, "iam matura viro"; *Sat.* viii. 169, "maturus bello."

8. **spargendusque mero.** The horns of sacrificial animals were gilded, and a libation of wine poured between them. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* iv. 60, "Ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit."

9. **ducere**, to drain = *haurire*.

vexat . . . robora cornu. Conf. Verg. *Georg.* iii. 232, "irasci in cornua discit arboris obnixus trunco."

10. **adfectibus**, "feelings of affection"; used in this sense only in writers of the Silver Age. Conf. Plin. *ad Trai.* 3, 6, "honestis, ut spero, adfectibus meis."

11. **Hispulla**, a fat lady whom Juvenal mentions in *Sat.* vi. 72.

12. **mole piger.** Conf. *Sat.* iv. 107, "abdomine tardus."

nec finitima nutritus in herba. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 60.

13. **Clitumni**, a stream in Umbria supposed to have the virtue of making the animals which drank of it white. The stream flowed through rich pasture land, and a breed of fine white cattle was fed there, which, from their colour, were especially used for sacrifices. Conf. Verg. *Georg.* ii. 146, "hinc albi, Clitumne, greges," etc.

sanguis, the blood, *i.e.* of this particular breed, used for the animal itself, so also *cervix* below, and *gula*, xiv. 10, "a full-blooded, thick-necked beast."

14. **iret**, should go to the altar.

a grandi . . . ferienda ministro. Notice the exceptional construction after the gerundive, which as a rule requires the dative of the agent. The instances of *ab* and the abl. are rare; a list of them is given in Roby, part ii. p. lxxv.

ministro. This would be the *popa*, or priest's servant, whose duty was to kill the animals.

16. **incolumem sese mirantis**, "wondering at his own safety."

18. **abscondere** here simply means "concealed." In Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 291, "Phaeacum abscondimus arces," it means "to lose sight of," like *ἀποκρύπτειν*.

19. **antennas**, the yardarms.

21. **attonitus**, in their panic.

23. **talia, tam graviter**—both predicates.

si quando, whenever.

poetica . . . tempestas, "a storm in poetry."

24. **Genus . . . aliud discriminis.** This is explained in line 30 and *seq.* to be the loss of goods thrown overboard to save the ship.

25. **quamquam sint**, "although the rest of the story is an appendix to the same mishap." Notice *quamquam* with the subj., as it usually is in Juvenal, Tacitus, and Sallust.

26. **pars**, "an appendix."

27. **et quam**, and one which——

votiva . . . tabella. People who had escaped from a shipwreck used to have a painting made of the event, which they sometimes carried about with them to excite pity and to elicit alms. See *Sat.* xiv. 302, "dum rogat et picta se tempestate tuetur," and Pers. i. 89, "cantas cum fracta te in trabe pictum ex humero portas." Ultimately the picture was hung up as a votive offering in the temple of Isis or Neptune. Conf. Hor. *Od.* i. 5, 13, "me tabula sacer votiva paries indicat humida suspendisse potenti vestimenta maris deo." Conf. also Hor. *Ars Poet.* 20, "fractis enatat exspes navibus aere dato qui pingitur."

28. **ab Iside pasci**, because Isis was the goddess especially invoked by sailors in danger of shipwreck, who afterwards, in fulfilment of their vow, employed painters to paint the wreck.

29. **Accidit et nostro**, etc.—a very weak line, which seems out of place here.

31. **alternum . . . latus**, first one side and then the other.

32. **arboris incertae**; in apposition to *puppis*, "a mere tottering hull," just as below (line 55) the ship is called "dolato ligno." Prof. Mayor takes *arboris incertae* as a gen. of quality coupled with *plenus*, "when the hull was full of water and with tottering mast," like *Sat.* xi. 96. Lachmann conjectures *arbori incertae* after *conferret*.

33. **rectoris**, the helmsman.

decidere . . . cum ventis, properly used of a debtor coming to terms with his creditors. Conf. Mart. ix. 4, "Conturbabit Atlas, et non erit uncia tota, decidat tecum qua pater ipsè deum."

iactu, by casting overboard. Conf. "iactura clientis," *Sat.* iii. 109.

39. **teneris . . . Maecenatibus**, for a delicate Maecenas. See note on *Sat.* i. 66, "de Maecenate supino."

40. **quarum generosi graminis ipsum**, etc., "the very sheep of which (*i.e.* from which they have been made) are coloured by the nature of the generous pasturage." *quarum* is possessive genitive, as the garments are said to own the sheep. *generosi graminis* refers to the pasturage along the banks of the Baetis in Andalusia. The breed of sheep coming from there had naturally yellow fleeces, so that there was no need of dyeing. So Martial, xiv. 133, makes a *lacerna* from Baetica say, "non est lana mihi mendax, nec mutor aheno (nor am I changed in a brazen cauldron). Sic placeant Tyriae; me mea tinxit ovis;" and xii. 99, "Baetis olivifera crinem re-

dimite corona, aurea qui nitidis vellera tingis aquis." Conf. Verg. *Ecl.* iv. 42.

41. **sed et**, moreover too.

egregius fons, *i.e.* the Baetis, now the Guadalquivir.

43. **lances Parthenio factas.** This seems to be in apposition to *argentum*, and if so the dishes were of silver, and Parthenius (notice the dative of the agent, like "formidatus Othoni") may have been an embosser in silver like Mentor, on whom see *Sat.* viii. 104. Others say that Parthenia was an old name for Samos, and so that Parthenio refers to Theodorus of Samos, mentioned by Herodotus, i. 51, as having made a huge silver crater for Croesus. Friedländer thinks *Parthenio* is "for Parthenius," the well-known chamberlain and freedman of Domitian.

cratera, a mixing bowl.

urnae . . . capacem, holding an *urna*. The *urna* contained half an *amphora*, and was equivalent to 4 *congii*. See note on *Sat.* vii. 236.

45. **sitiente Pholo**, a centaur who took part in the battle with the Lapithae. Conf. Verg. *Georg.* ii. 455.

coniuge Fusci—some woman no doubt notorious for her drunkenness, as Hispulla was for her corpulence, and Procula for her diminutive size.

46. **bascaudas**, also of silver. The word is British (basket). Conf. Mart. xiv. 99, "barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis."

caelati. See note on *Sat.* i. 76.

callidus emptor Olynthi—Philip of Macedon, who took Olynthus in Chalcidice in 348 B.C. by bribing Euthycrates and Lasthenes, two of its citizens. Conf. Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* i. 16, § 12, "Philippus omnia castella expugnari posse dicebat in quae modo asellus onustus auro posset ascendere." See also Hor. *Od.* iii. 16, 13. Pliny says that Philip used to sleep with a golden goblet under his pillow.

48. **qua mundi parte, quis**—double interrogation, which is frequent in Greek, but not so common in Latin.

50. **patrimonia** here, of course, does not mean an inherited property, though it would become so in the second generation.

patrimonia faciunt. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 326.

52. **nec** = οὐδέ.

54. **reccidit.** Perhaps a better reading than *decidit.* The double *c* or the long *rē*, if only one *c* is read, is due to the old reduplication *rececidit.* Conf. *rettuli* for *retetuli.* Trans. "he came to such a pass."

ac se explicat angustum, "and so remedies his want of

room." Conf. "me amicum," my friendship. The concrete put for the abstract. Or, "extricates himself, cramped as he is for space." Mr. Macleane reads *hac re*, making *angustum* substantival.

55. **discriminis ultima**, the danger is at its height when— *ultima* is neut. plur., like *Sat.* xv. 96, "bellorumque ultima," and perhaps iv. 18, "votorum summa."

57. **I nunc.** See note on *Sat.* x. 310.

dolato . . . ligno. Conf. *supra*, "arboris incertae," a rough-hewn plank.

58. **digitis.** The *digitus* was nearly but not quite an inch.

59. **taeda**, properly a torch made of pine wood; here used for the pine itself. Conversely *pinus* is used in Verg. *Aen.* ix. 72, for a torch.

60. **reticulis et pane**—hendiadys for *reticulis panis.* Conf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 1, 47, "reticulum panis."

ventre lagonae, a big-bellied wine jar. See note on *Sat.* iv. 30. *amphora*, *lagona*, and *cadus* are synonymous as far as size goes, though the shape was different. Conf. "Montani venter," *Sat.* iv. 107.

62. **iacuit planum.** The adjective is proleptic.

tempora postquam, etc., "after the weather of the traveller has become prosperous and his fate stronger than wind and sea." With *postquam* understand *facta sunt*, as *est* is to be supplied with *dum* in *Sat.* iii. 26.

64. **Parcae.** See note on *Sat.* iii. 27.

65. **staminis albi lanificae.** The Fates were favourable when they span with white threads; black threads were signs of disaster or death. Conf. Mart. vi. 58, "Si mihi lanificae ducunt non pulla sorores stamina"; and *Sat.* x. 252, "nimio de stamine."

67. **inopi . . . arte**, "with make-shift contrivance."

68. **vestibus extentis.** Conf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 24.

quod superaverat unum, "the only one left": the pluperfect is only used because the principal verb is in the perfect. For *superaverat* in the sense of *supererat*, conf. Verg. *Aen.* v. 519, "superabat Acestes."

69. **velo prora suo.** The foretop-sail or *dolon* (see Liv. xxxvi. 44) was the only sail left; the place of the others was supplied by garments spread out. Notice that *prora* is used (like *carina* and *puppis*) for the whole ship, and yet that *velo suo* has reference to the prow or bow of the ship in its special sense.

71. **novercali sedes praelata Lavinio.** Conf. Liv. i. 1,

11. Aeneas was said to have founded a town called Lavinium (Verg. *Aen.* xii. 194, "urbique dabit Lavinia nomen"). Iulus, when the population increased, founded a new city on the Alban Mount, which is here, therefore, the "sublimis apex." Lavinia, daughter of Latinus, whom Aeneas married, was of course *noverca* to Iulus. Conf. *Sat.* iv. 61.

72. **cui candida nomen scrofa dedit.** For the prophecy about the white sow with thirty young, which was to be found on the future site of the city, see Verg. *Aen.* viii. 43 *seq.*, which passage ends with, "Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam."

73. **miserabile sumen.** Conf. *Sat.* xi. 138, and Pers. i. 53. *miserabile* is the reading of *P.* and the Scholiast, but *mirabile* is partly recommended by Verg. *Aen.* viii. 81.

74. **numquam visis,** never seen before.

clara—agreeing with *scrofa.*

triginta . . . mamillis. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* viii. 44, "Triginta capitum foetus enixa iacebit."

75. **positas inclusa per aequora moles.** This alludes to the Portus Augusti constructed in 42 A.D. by the Emperor Claudius. The old Roman port was at Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, but this had gradually got choked up by the alluvial deposits of sand, until Rome was practically without a port into which the corn-ships from Africa might be received. Claudius therefore dug a deep basin a little to the north of Ostia, which he connected with the Tiber by a canal. To protect this basin he threw out two arms on the right and left, and constructed a breakwater between, with a lighthouse upon it. Conf. Suet. *Claud.* cap. 20, "portum Ostiae exstruxit circumducto dextra sinistraque brachio, et ad introitum profundo iam sale mole obiecta . . . congestisque pilis superposuit altissimam turrim in exemplum Alexandrini phari."

76. **Tyrrhenamque Pharon.** On the little island of Pharos, opposite Alexandria, a lighthouse was constructed which gave its name to lighthouses in general.

porrectaque brachia rursum, "arms stretched backwards"; *i.e.* after running out to sea they curved inwards again towards the breakwater.

78. **Non sic,** not so much; *i.e.* the artificial harbour is more admirable than any natural one.

80. **interiora . . . stagna.** This refers to an inner hexagonal basin constructed by Trajan, which was surrounded by quays and magazines for storing the corn when brought into port. Trajan also enlarged the canal, which was called after him "fossa Traiana."

Baianae . . . cymbae, a pleasure-boat of Baiae. On the

luxurious excursions made on the water by pleasure-seekers at Baiae, see Becker's *Gallus*, p. 96.

81. **vertice raso.** Sailors, in terror of shipwreck, often vowed to dedicate their hair to some god on their safe return.

83. **linguis animisque faventes.** *favete linguis* (Greek εὐφημεῖτε) was a ritual injunction to silence at a religious observance, in order to prevent the possibility of any ill-omened word being spoken. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 1, 1. Mr. Macleane very appositely quotes Soph. *Oed. Col.* 131, ἀφώνως, ἀλόγως, τὸ τᾶς εὐφήμου στόμα φροντίδος ἱέντες. Conf. Cic. *de Div.* i. 102, "rebus divinis quae publice fierent ut faverent linguis imperabatur." Conf. Ov. *Met.* xv. 677.

84. **serta delubris**, garlands for the shrines. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 248.

farra imponite cultris, "scatter the meal on the knives." *imponite* goes with *farra* by a slight zeugma: *inspargite* would be more appropriate. The fire, the victim's head, and the sacrificial knives, were sprinkled with the salt cake. Conf. Luc. i. 610, "molas inducere cultro."

85. **molles . . . focos**, soft, because made of turf. Conf. also "glebam virentem."

86. **quod praestat**, "which is the most important," viz. the sacrifice at the public shrine. He then goes home and offers to the Lares.

87. **graciles . . . coronas.** Conf. *Sat.* ix. 137, "O parvi nostrique Lares quos ture minuto aut farre aut tenui soleo exornare corona."

88. **simulacra nitentia cera.** Apparently the images of the Lares received now and then a varnish of wax to make them bright.

89. **nostrum . . . Iovem**, our household Jupiter. Each household, besides having its own peculiar Lares and Penates, was also under the special protection of one of the greater gods, such as Jupiter or Minerva or Juno. Conf. above "nostrique Lares."

91. **longos erexit ianua ramos.** Conf. *Sat.* x. 65, "pone domi lauros." This was a common sign of festivity and rejoicing.

92. **operatur**, offers sacrifice, and so keeps holiday. Conf. Verg. *Georg.* i. 339, "laetis operatus in herbis"; and *Aen.* iii. 136, "operata iuventus." Conf. the use of ῥέζειν in Greek.

matutinis . . . lucernis. On festive occasions lamps wreathed with flowers and leaves were hung up on the doorposts and round the *vestibulum*. *matutinis* implies that they were all got ready in the morning, though the illumina-

tion was naturally not to be till evening. Seneca, *Epist.* 96, says, "accendere lucernas prohibemus quoniam nec lumine Dii egent, et ne homines quidem delectantur fuligine."

93. **Nec suspecta tibi sint haec**, *i.e.* as though these manifestations of joy were the tricks of a legacy-hunter. See notes on *Sat.* iii. 221, v. 98, x. 202.

95. **tres habet heredes.** Conf. *Sat.* v. 138, "nullus tibi parvulus aula luserit Aeneas." Catullus would therefore have the "ius trium liberorum."

Libet exspectare, "I should like to wait and see."

96. **gallinam impendat.** Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 233. Prof. Mayor quotes from Lucian and Tertullian to show how often old and useless animals were employed for sacrifices.

97. **coturnix.** Quails were thought little of because they were believed to eat poisonous seeds, and were also subject to epilepsy.

98. **cadet.** Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 18, 5, "si tener pleno cadit haedus anno."

Sentire calorem, to have symptoms of fever.

99. **coepit**—a slight anacoluthon for *coeperunt* after *orbi.*

Gallitta. Prof. Mayor points out that this is a pet name from Galla. Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 31, mentions a Gallitta, daughter of Aurelius Gallus.

100. **legitime,** in due form.

tabellis, waxen tablets, which were hung either in the porch of the temple or on the walls, or on the images of the gods themselves. Conf. "genua incerare deorum," *Sat.* x. 55.

101. **porticus,** the porch of the temple—not, I think, of Gallitta or Paccius, as Prof. Mayor says.

promittant. Another reading is *promittunt*, but as the whole case is hypothetical, the subjunctive is better.

hecatomben—here strictly a hundred bullocks (ἑκατὸν βοῦς). It is often used of other animals as well.

102. **quatenus,** since. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 1, 64, "libenter quatenus id facit."

non sunt nec venales . . . nec, etc. The double negative is not very usual in Latin, as it is in Greek; but conf. Liv. i. 26, "non tulit populus nec patris lacrimas nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum," also Verg. *Aen.* ix. 426.

104. **nec . . . talis bellua concipitur.** A simpler construction would have been "nec concepti," etc., without unnecessarily changing the subject into the singular. These *captatores* would have some of them thought it worth while to offer a hecatomb of elephants if they could have been procured.

fulva gente, *i.e.* the Indians. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 125, "et Mauro obscurior Indus."

petita agrees with *bellua.*

105. **arboribus Rutulis.** The emperor's herd of elephants was kept in Latium, near the site of the ancient Lavinium.

106. **Caesaris armentum,** in apposition to *bellua*, as if *elephanti* had been retained as the plural. To keep elephants was one of the imperial privileges, and it was only with the emperor's consent that an elephant could be produced in the arena. The first private individual who had an elephant was Aurelian, afterwards himself emperor, who received a present of one from the King of Persia. Vopisc. *vit. Aurel.* 5. Conf. "nulli servire paratum."

107. **siquidem,** like εἴπερ, means "if, as is the case," and so almost "since."

Tyrio . . . Hannibali. Carthage being a colony from the mother-city Tyre, Hannibal is called Tyrian. Conf. *Sat.* x. 158, "cum Gaetula ducem portaret bellua luscum." Hannibal conveyed a number of elephants across the Alps, and used them in several battles.

108. **nostris ducibus.** The Romans employed elephants in their wars against Philip and Antiochus. Conf. Liv. xxxv. 36.

regique Molosso. Pyrrhus was the first to bring elephants into Italy. The Molossi were a people in Epirus, over which Pyrrhus was king.

109. **horum maiores,** the ancestors of Caesar's elephants.

110. **partem aliquam,** "an appreciable part." Conf. *Sat.* i. 74, ii. 149, iii. 194, 230, xiii. 37; and Verg. *Aen.* x. 426, "Lausus, pars ingens belli."

euntem in proelia turrim. A wooden tower was fixed on the back of the elephant, in which were placed sometimes as many as fifteen men armed with javelins. Notice the hiatus.

111. **Nulla igitur mora.** This goes back to line 100.

per Novium, "as far as Novius is concerned." Novius and Hister Pacuvius are *captatores.*

nulla mora . . . quin = "haud dubitant quin."

112. **illud ebur,** the elephants aforesaid, or the elephants in question. Conf. the use of *vellus* in line 4.

114. **tantis . . . deis**—ironically, "such mighty gods," *i.e.* as the Lares of so rich a lady.

captatoribus horum. They are said to be the *captatores* of the Lares to whom they are willing to offer such costly victims.

115. **Alter,** Pacuvius.

mactare, from root *mag*, means first to magnify or augment, then to honour by an offering, and lastly to sacrifice a victim. Similarly the idea of slaying is not contained in the root-meaning of *θύω*.

vovebit—he will devote to the lower gods for the health of Gallitta. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 257.

118. **imponet vittas**, in preparation for the sacrifice. Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 63. So in Verg. *Aen.* ii. 136, Sinon says, "mihi sacra parari et salsae fruges, et circum tempora vittae."

si qua est nubilis illi Iphigenia domi—"if he has any marriageable daughter at home." Conf. *Sat.* v. 138, "nullus tibi parvulus aula luserit Aeneas"; x. 318, "tuus Endymion."

120. **tragicae furtiva piacula cervae.** Agamemnon being weather-bound at Aulis was told by Calchas the prophet that he had offended Artemis, and that the wind would only be favourable for the expedition if he offered up his daughter Iphigenia. See Eur. *I. T.* 28. All preparations were made for the sacrifice when Artemis snatched away the maiden (ἐξέκλεψεν; conf. "furtiva") and substituted for her a fawn. The usual story, however, is that she was actually sacrificed. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 116, "sanguine placastis ventos et virgine caesa." *furtiva piacula* therefore is the expiatory offering of the fawn brought about by the "theft" of the goddess. *tragicae* = famous in tragedy. Conf. "fabulosus Hydaspes," Hor. *Od.* i. 22, 8; "poetica tempestas," *supra*, line 23. Pacuvius will sacrifice his daughter with no expectation of her being miraculously preserved.

121. **Laudo meum civem.** Conf. *Sat.* iv. 18.

122. **mille rates** = χιλιόναυς στρατός, Eur. *Or.* 382. The Greeks were usually said to have had 1000 ships, though Homer gives the number at 1186.

si Libitinam evaserit. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 30, 6, "non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei vitabit Libitinam." Conf. the name for undertakers, "libitinarii."

123. **delebit tabulas**, the will had a "prima" and "secunda" *cera.* See note on *Sat.* i. 68, and iv. 19. This means that he will erase his former will, in which probably his *sui heredes* were mentioned, and will give all to Pacuvius in gratitude for the efficacy of his vows.

nassa, a net; the *orbus* is compared to a fish caught in the net of the *captator.*

124. **meritum**, *i.e.* of having made so many vows for his recovery.

omnia soli . . . Pacuvio breviter dabit, *i.e.* will make Pacuvius the *heres ex asse*, which would require a very short will. Conf. the expression "exiguis tabulis," and see note on *Sat.* i. 68.

126. **victis rivalibus.** Notice the derivation of the word *rivalis* from *rivus*—those who have the same brook in common.

127. **operae pretium.** Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 281, "grande operae pretium est," "how much worth while would be the murder of his Mycenian maiden!" *i.e.* of his daughter, described above as his Iphigenia.

128. **Vivat . . . Nestora totum.** For similar semi-cognate accusatives conf. "hominem sonare," "Cyclopa moveri," "pastorem saltare," "Bacchanalia vivunt." For *Nestor*, conf. *Sat.* x. 246.

129. **quantum rapuit Nero.** The rapacity of Nero in despoiling both the nobles at Rome and the provincials abroad was notorious. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 45.

130. On **nec** for *neu*, conf. *Sat.* iii. 302, viii. 188.

SATIRE XIII

1. **Exemplo . . . malo,** ablative of manner.

2. **auctori,** the doer of the deed. Conf. Sall. *Iug.* 1, "suam culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt."

se iudice nemo nocens absolvitur. Notice the abl. abs., although it refers to the same subject as the finite verb. Prof. Mayor cites Ovid, *Amor.* ii. 12, 13, "me duce ad hunc voti finem, me milite veni." *se iudice* = by his own conscience.

4. **fallaci praetoris . . . urna.** The praetor still presided at the *quaestiones perpetuae.* There were two means by which he could act corruptly—(1) in the selection of the *iudices*, which was managed by drawing a certain number of names out of an urn, he might contrive to take those favourable to an acquittal—Cic. *pro Mil.* § 21, "neque vero, quod nonnulli dictitant secrevit in iudicibus legendis amicos meos;" or (2) in counting the votes of the *iudices* when placed in the urn. Each *iudex* was provided with three tablets—marked A (absolvo), C (condemno), and N L (non liquet). One of these two means is referred to here.

vicerit. Conf. *Sat.* iv. 136, and the use of νικάω in Greek.

5. **Calvine.** Martial mentions a Calvinus as a mediocre writer, but Juvenal's Calvinus is probably a fictitious character.

6. **Sed nec** = ἀλλ' οὐδέ, nor on the other hand. The grounds of consolation are four—(1) conscience will condemn if nothing else; (2) common opinion will condemn; (3) Calvinus is not ruined; (4) and only suffers what many have endured before.

10. **e medio fortunae ductus acervo,** taken from the

middle of fortune's heap, *i.e.* taken at random, not selected from the outside.

12. **vulnere maior.** Conf. "privatis maiora focis," *Sat.* iv. 66.

13. **quamvis levium**, however light.

14. **spumantibus ardens visceribus.** Conf. *Sat.* i. 45, "iecur ardeat ira."

15. **quod non reddat . . . depositum.** Conf. Plin. *ad Trai.* 96, where among the crimes which the Christians bound themselves not to commit is mentioned "ne depositum appellati abnegarent."

17. **Fonteio Consule natus.** These words conclusively fix the date of this Satire. Where the name of one consul is given to fix a year it is always the name of the senior consul. Now there was a Fonteius Capito consul in 59 A.D., but he was the junior consul; in 67 A.D. another Fonteius Capito (Tac. *Hist.* i. 7) was senior consul. This therefore must be the year intended by Juvenal, and accordingly the date of the Satire is 127 A.D., *i.e.* the tenth year of Hadrian's reign. But there is a further question as to the subject of "haec stupet." This I formerly took with Friedländer to refer to Juvenal himself. "A man like me, born sixty years ago, wonders at this excessive anger." But attractive as it is thus to get the exact date of Juvenal's birth, I am now convinced by the arguments of L. Schwabe (*Rheinisches Museum*, xl. p. 25 *seq.*) that it is Calvinus who is referred to, though in the third person instead of the second, as in lines 7-15, "Is a man who has lived sixty years surprised at this dishonesty? does he profit nothing by so much experience of life?" Line 18 confessedly refers to Calvinus, and it seems both awkward and unnecessary to suppose that 16-17 refer to some one else.

19. **Magna quidem, sacris quae dat praecepta**, "great indeed are the precepts which," etc. *praecepta* is attracted into the relative clause.

sacris . . . libellis. Conf. Milton's "Divine Philosophy."

20. **victrix fortunae sapientia**, "philosophy which conquers fortune." A concrete instance of this is Democritus in *Sat.* x. 25, "cum Fortunae ipsa minaci mandaret laqueum," and 363. The sense is—Philosophy teaches men to bear reverses of fortune, but actual experience of life is enough for so trivial a misfortune.

22. **iactare iugum** = *detrectare iugum*, to toss off.

25. **pyxide**, a little box in which poison was kept.

27. **Thebarum portae**, not Thebes in Egypt, which had 100 gates, but Thebes in Boeotia, which had seven. In Aeschylus's

play, *Septem contra Thebas*, one warrior is posted against each gate.

divitis ostia Nili. Strabo names seven, and Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 801, speaks of "septemgeminus Nilus."

28. **Nona aetas agitur.** The Tuscan seers divided the course of the world into eight ages, together making up the Annus Magnus. Juvenal here means that such is the present degeneracy of human nature, that they must have passed those eight ages and got into something worse, which he accordingly calls "nona aetas." I have retained the reading *nona aetas*, but it is doubtful whether the reading of *P.* is not right, *nunc aetas* with *peior* supplied, "Now an age and generation worse than that of iron is being lived through."

ferri temporibus. Ovid, *Met.* i. 89 *seq.*, gives four ages taken from the metals, "aurea, argentea, aenea," and line 127, "de duro est ultima ferro." Juvenal's age is so bad that there is no metal base enough in nature to represent it.

31. **ciemus,** "summon to our aid."

32. **quanto Faesidium laudat vocalis agentem sportula.** It was a very common practice for rich *causidici* to employ the clients to whom they gave the *sportula* to be present in court, while they were pleading, and applaud them vociferously. Hence the *sportula*, which found the clients their voices, is called "vocalis." Pliny, *Ep.* ii. 14, says, "in media basilica sportulae dantur palam ut in triclinio; hoc pretio subsellia implentur, hoc infiniti clamores commoventur." Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 19, 37, and Mart. vi. 48. For omission of *tanto*, conf. *Sat.* iii. 225, and x. 14.

33. **bulla dignissime.** On the *bulla*, or thin plate of gold worn by noble Roman boys, see note to *Sat.* v. 164.

37. **aliquod numen,** "some real divinity." Conf. *Sat.* ii. 149, "esse aliquos manes."

rubenti, *i.e.* with the blood of victims.

38. **priusquam sumeret agrestem posito diademate falcem,** *i.e.* in the golden age when Saturn was king. Saturn was expelled from Olympus by Jupiter, and fled to Latium, where he taught the people the art of agriculture: he is here represented with a sickle in his hand. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* viii. 319 *seq.*

41. **Idaeis Iupiter antris**—a reference to the well-known story of Jupiter's nurture on Mount Ida in Crete. For "privatus Iupiter," conf. *Sat.* vi. 15, "sed Iove nondum barbato."

43. **puer Iliacus,** Ganymede. Conf. *Sat.* v. 59.

Herculis uxor. Hebe was the cup-bearer of the gods before she was married to Hercules.

44. **ad cyathos.** The slaves of the imperial family were usually described shortly as *a cubiculo, a libellis, ab epistulis, ad cyathos*, signifying chamberlain, secretary, cup-bearer, etc.

et iam siccato nectare. The *et* here carries on the negation. *siccato nectare*, having quaffed the nectar. The words *tergens brachia* are probably a reminiscence of Homer's phrase, *Il.* xviii. 414, *καὶ ἄμφω χεῖρ' ἀπομόργνυ.*

47. **talis, ut est hodie.** In Juvenal's time deities—all sorts of deities, especially from Egypt and the East—had been introduced, to say nothing of the frequent apotheosis of the emperor.

48. **Atlanta.** Conf. Verg. *Aen.* iv. 481.

49. **aliquis**, any god.

profundi, of the sea, though some have thought that *triste imperium* must refer to the lower regions. The *aut* favours the former view.

50. **Sicula . . . cum coniuge**, Proserpine.

51. **rota**, the wheel of Ixion.

Furiae, the Greek Ἐρίνυες. See note on *Sat.* vii. 68.

saxum, a reference to the punishment of Sisyphus.

vulturis atri poena—*genitivus definitivus.* Tityus is here alluded to. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 4, 77, "incontinentis nec Tityi iecur reliquit ales."

52. **regibus**, *i.e.* king and queen. Conf. note on *Sat.* xi. 105.

54. **credebant hoc grande nefas.** Conf. the instance given by Tacitus of a complaint made by Domitius Corbulo that L. Sulla had not given way to him at the gladiatorial games, *Ann.* iii. 31. He adds, "memorabantur exempla maiorum qui iuventutis irreverentiam gravibus decretis notavissent."

56. **puer**, *i.e.* one who has not yet taken the *toga virilis.*

57. **fraga et . . . glandis acervos**, the food of primitive ages. Notice that *glandis* is used as a noun of multitude. Conf. Verg. *Georg.* iv. 81.

58. **praecedere quatuor annis.** The *puer* generally took the *toga virilis* at about sixteen, and the first beard was shaved off at about twenty or twenty-one, at which time he might be called "barbatus."

61. **cum tota aerugine**, with all its rust, *i.e.* coin.

62. **prodigiosa**, "amounting to a portent."

Tuscis digna libellis. It was from the Etruscans that the Romans derived much of their ritual, especially in relation to portents, omens, and prodigies. Cicero speaks of the "Etruscorum libri," in which all sorts of portents were recorded.

63. **coronata.** Conf. *Sat.* xii. 118.

lustrari, to be purged away. Portents were usually signs of impending evil. So below, line 67, Juvenal says that when he sees an honest man, he is "sollicitus" just as if it had rained stones, etc.

64. **bimembri . . . puero,** a portent mentioned by Livy, xxvii. 11, "cum elephanti corpore puerum natum."

65. **sub aratro piscibus inventis.** Conf. Liv. xlii. 2.

70. **lactis vortice.** This portent is related by Livy, xxxiv. 45.

71. **fraude sacrilega;** so in line 15 he speaks of "sacrum depositum."

72. **bis centum,** *i.e. sestertia.*

73. **arcana,** entrusted in private, *i.e.* without any witnesses. Conf. Ov. *Am.* ii. 15, 15.

74. **angulus arcae.** The meaning is, that the chest cannot hold the sum though every corner is filled up.

75. **superos contemnere testes.** Conf. *Sat.* iii. 145.

77. **ficti constantia vultus,** "boldness in the expression he assumes."

78. **Tarpeia fulmina,** the thunderbolts of Tarpeian Jove. Conf. *Sat.* xii. 6, where see note. Conf. Ov. *Am.* iii. 3.

79. **frameam.** Tacitus, *Germ.* 6, says that this is a German word for *hasta.*

Cirrhaei . . . vatis, Apollo. Conf. note on *Sat.* vii. 64.

80. **venatricis . . . puellae,** Diana the huntress.

82. **Herculeos arcus**—the bow and arrows of Hercules, stained with the blood of the hydra, and owned by Philoctetes, without which Troy could not be taken.

84. **flebile**—used in a quasi-proleptic sense, "to my sorrow."

nati sinciput, etc. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* ii. 20, 5, "iram deorum quos ipse quotidie fallit, in caput infelicis filii detestatur."

85. **Phario . . . aceto;** so Martial, xiii. 122, has "Niliaci aceti."

86. **Sunt in Fortunae qui casibus omnia ponunt,** viz. the Epicureans, who believed that there were gods, but that they took no part in the administration of the world.

87. **nullo . . . rectore** is ablative absolute.

89. **quaecunque** is generally used with a verb; but see note on *Sat.* x. 312.

tangunt. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* xii. 201, and *Sat.* xiv. 219.

90. **alius,** another class of men.

metuens, who *does* fear, in opposition to the first class, who do not.

91. **et peierat**, and yet perjures himself. Conf. *Sat.* vii. 124.

93. **Isis.** The worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis was a favourite one at Rome. Conf. *Sat.* xii. 28.

sistro (σείω), a kind of rattle used in the worship of Isis.

95. **dimidium crus**, amputation of a leg.

96. **sunt tanti**, "are worth incurring." Mr. Macleane quotes Cic. *in Cat.* ii. 7, "est mihi tanti, Quirites, huius invidiae falsae tempestatem subire;" also Mart. i. 12, "nunc ipsa pericula tanti."

locupletem . . . podagram, the rich man's gout.

97. **nec**=*neu*, as in *Sat.* xii. 130.

Ladas was a celebrated runner and victor at the Olympian Games. He was an Argive by birth, and had a statue in the temple of Apollo at Argos. His swiftness was proverbial among the Romans. Conf. Catull. 55, 25, and Mart. x. 100, "Habeas licebit alterum pedem Ladae, inepte, frustra crure ligneo curres."

si non eget Anticyra, if he is not mad. Anticyra was a town in Phocis, on the Corinthian Gulf. It was famous for the hellebore which grew there, and which was reputed to be a cure for madness. Conf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 300, "tribus Anticyris caput insanabile"; and *Sat.* ii. 3, 166, "naviget Anticyram."

98. **Archigene**, a doctor who administered hellebore. Notice the length of the final *e;* it is really the Greek dative (Ἀρχιγένῃ). Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 252.

esuriens—with *ramus* by hypallage.

99. **Pisaeae.** Pisa was a town in Elis, close to Olympia.

100. **Ut**, although.

lenta ira deorum. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 2, 32, "pede poena claudo."

103. **his**, crimes like this.

104. **diverso . . . fato**, with different consequences.

105. **tulit**—gnomic aorist.

108. **praecedit**, *i.e.* to show his readiness.

immo, nay, even.

109. **superest**, "comes to the support of;" see line 237.

110.. **Mimum agit**, etc., "acts a part (in a mime) like that of the runaway rascal in the witty Catullus." For Catullus, see note to *Sat.* viii. 186. The runaway slave in question probably drags his master to the altar to hear his oath that he was free-born.

112. **Stentora**, a Greek herald in Homer, *Il.* v. 785, who could shout as loudly as fifty men.

113. **Gradivus Homericus**, *Il.* v. 859. Ares when he was wounded by Diomedes shouted as loudly as nine or ten thousand men.

114. **nec** = *οὐδέ*.

cum mittere vocem debueris, "though you ought to have said something." Conf. *Sat.* vi. 394, "Respondes his, Iane pater? magna otia caeli: non est, quod video, non est quod agatur apud vos."

115. **vel marmoreus vel aeneus**, "marble as you are or brazen," *i.e.* his silence shows him to be a mere statue after all. Most MSS. have *debueras* which Mr. Macleane follows, making it a conditional sentence, "since you ought to have," etc., "even if you had been," etc., quoting "me truncus illapsus cerebro sustulerat nisi," but the *cum* makes this construction impossible here. The vivid indicative put for the subjunctive can only be in the principal clause.

aut, or else.

116. **charta.** Martial warns his book that it may become "turis piperisve cucullus," iii. 2. Conf. also Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 269, "Deferar in vicum vendentem tus et odores et piper et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis."

119. **statuamque Vagelli.** Vagellius is called in *Sat.* xvi. 23 a "declamator mulino corde." Like Aemilius, mentioned in *Sat.* vii. 124, he probably had a statue of himself in his *vestibulum.*

121. **et qui nec Cynicos, nec Stoica dogmata legit**, even one who is no philosopher, and who only gives common-sense consolation. The Cynics were founded by Antisthenes, but were most typically represented by Diogenes. They withdrew themselves from all public affairs as unworthy of the attention of the wise man. They owed their name to their dog-like, snarling, railing philosophy. The Stoics, a much more famous school, arose out of that of the Cynics, and were founded by Zeno. Their principle was that virtue is the only good, and that all other things—pain, pleasure, honour, and riches—are indifferent to the wise man. The Stoic philosophy was much affected by eminent lawyers at Rome.

122. **a Cynicis tunica distantia.** To a layman like Juvenal the difference between Stoics and Cynics seemed to be the merely external one of dress. The Cynics discarded the tunic and wore only a kind of double cloak, which was used both for raiment and bed-covering. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 17, 25, "quem duplici panno patientia velat."

123. **suspicit**, "looks with respect to."

exigui laetum plantaribus horti. Epicurus was excessively frugal, and lived almost entirely off the product of his garden. Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 319.

124. **medicis maioribus**, "greater remedies," see note on *Sat.* xi. 191.

125. **vel discipulo**, "even to an apprentice." So small was the loss of Calvinus that very ordinary consolation will meet the case.

129. **claudenda est ianua.** When a death took place at Rome the house was shut up till after the funeral. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 82.

131. **funera**, a death.

132. **in hoc casu**, *i.e.* when money is lost.

vestem diducere summam, "merely to rend the top of the dress," *i.e.* instead of really tearing it from top to bottom, as would be done in real grief.

135. **fora.** The forum Romanum had long since ceased to be sufficient for the increased needs of Rome. The forum Iulium, the forum Augusti, the forum Pacis, and the forum Traiani, were successively added.

136. **deciens lectis . . . tabellis**, "when their own acknowledgments have been read over and over again." *tabellis* are the tablets on which the debtor gives his I.O.U.

diversa parte. Prof. Mayor well translates "on the other side," *i.e.* by the creditor's advocate; and compares *Sat.* vii. 156, "diversae sagittae."

137. **vana supervacui dicunt chirographa ligni**, "they (*i.e.* the debtors) assert that it is a worthless bond written on mere waste-paper"—*i.e.* deny their own notes of hand, and assert them to be forgeries. *supervacui* is by hypallage; *ligni* is the same as *tabellis*—wooden tablets, usually called "pugillares." Conf. Mart. xiv. 3, 1, "secta in tenues ligna tabellas."

138. **arguit**, "convicts of a lie."

littera, handwriting.

princeps sardonychum, choicest of sardonyxes. Conf. *Sat.* i. 68, "gemma fecerat uda."

140. **delicias.** Conf. *Sat.* iv. 4, and x. 291, "fortune's darling."

141. **gallinae filius albae**, the proverb explains itself. Conf. Suet. *Galb.* 1.

145. **sulfure . . . atque dolo**—hendiadys.

146. **ianua.** The fact that the door took fire first was a pretty conclusive proof that the conflagration was not accidental. Conf. *Sat.* ix. 98, "candelam adponere valvis non dubitat."

148. **adorandae robiginis**—gen. of quality.

149. **antiquo . . . rege**—some king like Croesus or Amasis, who made offerings to the Delphian temple.

150, etc. "If these costly things are not to be had, he comes out, a sacrilegious rascal with humbler views, to scrape," etc.

152. **bratteolam,** thin leaf of gold: **ducat,** beat out.

153. **an dubitet solitus,** etc. "Would he hesitate, accustomed as he has been (*i.e.* when he had the chance), to melt down a whole statue of Jove the Thunderer?" Juvenal begins by speaking of a class of men "hos . . . qui tollunt," but then passes to the singular *exstat* as if he had been speaking of some particular person. This way of taking the passage gets rid of the difficulty in describing one who had melted down a statue of Jupiter as "minor sacrilegus." *minor* is a predicate. The man only stoops to the petty acts of sacrilege when nothing more lucrative is to be done. Munro suggested *solitumst,* which Prof. Mayor at one time adopted, though he has now returned to *solitus,* the reading of *P.*

156. **innoxia simia.** On the punishment of parricides, see note to *Sat.* viii. 214.

157. **quota.** See note on *Sat.* iii. 61.

custos Gallicus urbis. C. Rutilius Gallicus was *praefectus urbi* in the reign of Domitian. As such he would possess some criminal jurisdiction, and was a kind of prefect of police. In *Sat.* iv. 77 he is called "vilicus urbis." Juvenal, according to his custom, takes a well-known praefect of former days to represent the class.

160. **una domus,** viz. that of Gallicus.

paucos consume dies, spend a few days there.

162. **tumidum guttur,** goître. In certain climates huge wens grow under the throat looking almost like the dewlap of a cow.

163. **in Meroe,** an island in the Nile. Some think that the peculiarity here mentioned may have been seen by Juvenal himself during his exile in Egypt, but see the Introduction on the question of his banishment.

164. **caerula . . . Germani lumina.** Tacitus, *Germ.* 4, speaks of their "caerulei oculi." Conf. Hor. *Epod.* 16, 7.

165. **madido torquentem cornua cirro,** "which twists its tufts of greasy curls." *torquentem* agrees with *caesariem.* The Germans wore their hair fastened back into a twisted knot

on the top of the head, which had the appearance of a horn. Conf. Mart. *Spect.* 3, 9. It was also dyed a reddish colour by means of a kind of soap; hence the epithet "madido." *madido cirro* may be abl. of material.

167. **Thracum volucres**—cranes, of which large numbers were found near the river Strymon. Conf. Verg. *Georg.* i. 120.

168. **Pygmaeus.** The Pygmies were a fabulous race, supposed to live in India or Africa, according to some traditions. Homer, *Il.* iii. 3 *seq.*, refers to their combats with the cranes of Thrace.

169. **curvis unguibus.** Cranes have no talons, but Juvenal is never very exact about such things.

179. "The least drop of blood from his maimed body will bring you a comfort which will make you hated by all."

181. **Nempe**, yes—but. *nempe* always affirms some previous statement, but here with a tone of objection.

indocti, sc. *dicunt*.

183. **adeo**, so true is it that.

184. **Chrysippus** (born 283 B.C.), a pupil of Zeno, on whose death in 260 B.C. he became chief of the Stoics. Conf. *Sat.* xv. 107.

Thaletis, 636-596 B.C., one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, and a native of Miletus. He is mentioned here merely as an example of a philosopher, in contrast to the "indocti."

185. **senex vicinus Hymetto**—Socrates of Athens, which was near to Hymettus, famous for its honey; hence "dulci." Socrates was seventy at the time of his death, 399 B.C.

186. **qui partem acceptae**, etc. This only means that Socrates was so free from all thoughts of revenge that he would have been unwilling to harm his accuser.

187. **accusatori**—Anytus or Meletus.

Plurima felix, etc., "happy is he who gradually gets rid of his many vices and errors: it is philosophy which first teaches all the rule of right."

189. **minuti**, petty.

191. **collige**, infer. Conf. the use of συμβιβάζω.

193. **diri conscia facti mens.** Seneca says, "prima illa et maxima peccantium poena est, peccâsse."

194. **surdo verbere**, "unheard lash." Conf. the use of *caecus*, which means unseen as well as blind. Conf. *Sat.* vii. 71.

196. **illis**, than those punishments.

197. **Caedicius**—perhaps, as the Scholiast says, a cruel judge of Nero's reign.

Rhadamanthus. Minos, Aeacus, and Rhadamanthus were the judges in the lower world. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 566.

199. **Spartano cuidam.** Herodotus tells the story, vi. 86. A Milesian deposited some money with Glaucus, a Spartan, who afterwards, when the sons of the former redemanded the money, professed to have forgotten the matter, and consulted the oracle as to whether he should swear that he had never received it. On the oracle denouncing those who violated their oaths, Glaucus in fear gave back the money, but his house soon became extinct.

200. **quod dubitaret**—*τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἴσον δύνασθαι.*

207. **quamvis longa deductis gente,** derived from his race, however far back, *i.e.* even distant relations.

210. **facti crimen habet,** "incurs the guilt of crime committed."

Cedo, an old imperative—"give," or, as here, "tell me; "what if he has executed his design?"

211. **nec**=*οὐδέ.*

213. **difficili crescente cibo.** Conf. Ovid, *Her.* xv. 122, "crescit et invito lentus in ore cibus."

sed vina, "nay too, etc." *Setina* is a conjecture not supported by MSS.

214. **Albani.** See note on *Sat.* v. 33.

215. **ostendas . . . cogitur.** Conf. *Sat.* iii. 100.

216. **acri . . . Falerno,** sharp Falernian. See note on *Sat.* iv. 138. The Falernian was a strong wine, requiring to be kept some time and then mixed with honey.

220. **sudoribus.** Conf. *Sat.* i. 167.

221. **te videt in somnis.** So Pliny (*Ep.* ix. 13) says of Publicius Certus, whom he had accused in the senate, "audivi referentes hanc imaginem menti eius, hanc oculis oberrasse tamquam videret me sibi cum ferro imminere." See also Suet. *Oth.* 7.

sacra, almost "supernatural," and so well coupled with *maior humana* With *maior humana* conf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 773, "nota maior."

224. **exanimes,** half dead with fear.

225. **non quasi fortuitus.** *quasi* goes with the whole clause, not with *fortuitus* alone.

226. **iudicet,** "with purpose of judgment," = *iudex cadat.* Another reading is *vindicet.*

228. **hoc . . . sereno.** *serenum* is used as a noun in *Sat.* vii. 179.

229. **lateris . . . dolorem,** pleurisy.

232. **sacello.** Conf. *Sat.* v. 340.

233. **cristam promittere galli.** Cocks were offered to Aesculapius and also to the Lares. Conf. Plato, *Phaed.* 118 A. See *Sat.* xii. 96.

234. **nocentibus aegris,** to the guilty when sick.

236. **malorum** had better be taken as masculine.

237. **superest constantia,** "effrontery comes to their support." Conf. line 77, "ficti constantia vultus"; and 109, "malae superest audacia causae."

239. **natura,** because habit becomes a second nature. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 10, 24, "Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret."

ad mores . . . damnatos, "to the character condemned by conscience."

242. **attrita de fronte,** from his hardened forehead.

244. **noster perfidus,** *i.e.* the man who had stolen Calvinus's deposit.

dabit in laqueum vestigia, "will yield his footsteps to the snare," *i.e.* will be caught.

245. **carceris uncum.** Conf. note on *Sat.* x. 66.

246. **maris Aegaei rupem.** Conf. *Sat.* i. 73, "aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum"; and x. 170.

frequentes, crowded with.

248. **nominis.** Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 27, 34, "o pater o nomen filiae relictum."

249. **Tiresian**—put here for "blind." He was the blind prophet who foretold the fate of Oedipus.

SATIRE XIV

1. **Fuscine**; perhaps the Fuscinus who, according to the Barberini Life, married Juvenal's sister.

3. **monstrant . . . traduntque,** "show by example and teach by precept."

4. **alea.** Conf. *Sat.* i. 88 and xi. 176.

5. **bullatus.** See note on *Sat.* v. 164.

eadem . . . arma, *i.e.* the dice. See note on *Sat.* xi. 132.

and conf. the same metaphor in *Sat.* i. 93 "Proelia quanta illic dispensatore videbis armigero?"

6. **melius,** *i.e.* than about the youthful gambler.

7. **tubera terrae,** truffles. See *Sat.* v. 116.

8. **boletum.** See *id.* 147.

eodem iure, the same sauce as the mushrooms.

9. **mergere**—not "to swallow," as it is sometimes taken, but "to souse." See the precepts on cookery given in Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4.

ficedulas, beccaficos, so called because they were fond of figs. Conf. Mart. xiii. 49, "Cum me ficus alat, cum pascar dulcibus uvis, cur potius nomen non dedit uva mihi?" It was the only bird which was eaten entire. In Martial, xiii. 5, the *e* is 'ong. Conf. *Sat.* v. 158.

10. **cana . . . gula,** a hoary glutton; abstract for concrete.

11. **transierit puerum,** "shall have passed over the boy's head."

12. **barbatos . . . magistros,** bearded philosophers. So Persius, iv. 1, says of Socrates, "barbatum hoc crede magistrum dicere." See also Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 35. *barbatus* is used, *Sat.* iv. 103, as a sign of antiquity, "barbato imponere regi"; in *Sat.* xiii. 56, merely for a youth with his first beard. So Cicero speaks of Catiline and his companion as "barbatuli homines."

15. **modicis erroribus aequos,** "dispassionate towards venial faults."

16. **nostra materia,** "the same material as our own." Roman philosophers had more enlightened views on the question of slavery than the Greeks, but for all that in practice Roman masters were harsher than Greek.

19. **nullam Sirena flagellis comparat,** thinks no Siren's song as sweet as the sound of the lash.

20. **Antiphates trepidi Laris,** "the Antiphates of his trembling household." Antiphates was king of the Laestrygones, and after sinking the ship of Odysseus devoured one of his crew—Hom. *Od.* x. 80 *seq.*

Polyphemus, the Cyclops who was blinded by Odysseus.

21. **aliquis,** some slave.

22. **uritur ardenti . . . ferro.** Dishonest slaves were branded on the forehead with the letter F, standing for FUR.

23. **stridore catenae**—referring to the gangs of slaves who worked in chains. Conf. *Sat.* xi. 80.

24. **mire afficiunt,** "excessively delight."

inscripta, ergastula, branded slaves, task-houses. Conf. "inscripta lintea," *Sat.* viii. 168. For *ergastula,* see note on *Sat.* viii. 180, and xi. 80. These branded slaves were sometimes called "litterati" or "stigmatici." Mart. viii. 75, 9 has "quatuor inscripti."

carcer, the prison on the *latifundium.* The *ergastula* were the ordinary cells in which the slaves slept.

25. **Rusticus expectas,** etc. "Are you so rustic as to expect?" perhaps a reminiscence of Hor. *Ep.* i. 2, 42.

28. **respiret,** take breath.

Conscia, an accomplice.

32. **vitiorum exempla domestica,** "vicious examples in our own family."

magnis . . . auctoribus, with the weight of authority.

Unus et alter, one or two. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 34, "Porro ob unius aut alterius imbecillum animum."

35. **Titan,** *i.e.* Prometheus. See notes on *Sat.* iv. 133, and viii. 133; and Hor. *Od.* i. 16, 13, "fertur Prometheus addere principi limo coactus particulam undique desectam."

37. **orbita,** wheel-track, and so path. So Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* ii. 21, "sic orbem rei publicae esse conversum ut vix sonitum audire, vix ingressam orbitam videre quis posset."

38. **huius enim vel una,** etc., "for there is at any rate one powerful reason for this abstinence," viz.

40. **imitandis turpibus,** abl. of respect.

41. **Catilinam,** mentioned also in *Sat.* viii. 230.

42. **axe.** Conf. *Sat.* viii. 116, "Gallicus axis."

43. **Brutus,** the murderer of Caesar; always spoken of in terms of praise from his integrity and nobility of character.

Bruti . . . avunculus. Cato the younger, whose sister Servilia was the mother of Brutus. He joined the Pompeian party in the civil war, and after the battle of Thapsus, 46 B.C., committed suicide at Utica. Conf. Sen. *Ep.* 97, 10, "omne tempus Clodios, non omne Catones feret"; and *Sat.* ii. 40, "Tertius e caelo cecidit Cato."

45. **intra quae pater est.** This is the reading of *P.* and *S.*, but I somewhat reluctantly substitute it for the more familiar *puer.*

Procul o, procul inde. This, with the addition of "profani," was the usual formula before a sacrifice. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 258.

46. **pernoctantis,** spending the night at another man's board. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 10 and 11.

parasiti. See note on *Sat.* i. 139.

50. **dignum censoris . . . ira.** Conf. *Sat.* iv. 12, "caderet sub iudice morum."

51. **quandoque,** at some future time. Conf. *Sat.* v. 172.

52. **morum quoque filius.** The sentence is not quite symmetrical. After "similem . . . se non corpore tantum . . . dederit" we should have expected "sed quoque morum filium." Trans. "true son of your character."

53. **omnia deterius tua per vestigia peccet,** "will exaggerate every sin as he follows your footsteps." *peccet* is present tense because it implies a life-continued course of sin.

54. **nimirum**—ironical, as in *Sat.* vii. 78.

55. **tabulas mutare.** Conf. *Sat.* xii. 123, "delebit tabulas . . ." and "atque omnia soli Pacuvio breviter dabit."

56. **Unde tibi frontem,** sc. *praestabis.* Conf. *Sat.* viii. 9, "effigies quo tot bellatorum"; and Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5, 102.

frontem. The brow as the seat of authority; elsewhere of shame. *Sat.* xiii. 242.

57. **senex,** old man though you are.

58. **ventosa cucurbita,** a cupping-glass, so called from its gourd-like shape and the principle on which it acts. The cupping-glass is exhausted of air, when the pressure of the external air makes it adhere tightly to the skin, and the blood is attracted up into the vacuum. The action of the draught of air from outside is described by *ventosa.* The French for cupping-glass is "ventouse." Cupping was considered a remedy for madness because it diminished the flow of blood to the brain; hence *vacuum cerebro* = "brainless."

quaerat, is in need of, = *requirat.*

59. **cessabit,** will have a moment's leisure.

60. **pavimentum,** of marble mosaic. See note on *Sat.* xi. 168, "Lacedaemonium orbem."

columnas, of the peristyle or the *porticus.*

62. **leve argentum,** smooth silver plate, called also *purum.*

vasa aspera, embossed vessels, called also *caelata;* see on *Sat.* i. 76; also described as *toreumata,* from τορευτική, the art of working in relief.

66. **porticus.** See note on *Sat.* vii. 178.

68. **illud non agitas,** "you have no care for this."

69. **omni sine labe,** "without any stain."

72. **et bellorum et pacis rebus agendis.** Conf. *Sat.* viii. 169.

74. **ciconia.** Conf. Verg. *Georg.* ii. 320, "Candida venit avis longis invisa colubris."

77. **crucibusque relictis.** Crucifixion was the usual punishment for slaves and common criminals. The bodies were left for days upon the cross, and were no doubt often eaten by birds of prey. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 16, 48, "non pasces in cruce corvos."

79. **magni,** when full grown.

80. **arbore.** As a fact vultures do not build their nests in trees but in the crevices of rocks. Juvenal, however, is seldom accurate in these matters.

81. **famulae Iovis,** eagles. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iv. 4, 1, "Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem," etc.

generosae . . . aves mean "other birds of prey."

83. **inde,** *i.e.* from the nest.

85. **quam primum praedam.** Notice the antecedent attracted into the relative clause.

86. **Aedificator,** fond of building; used in a bad sense. Conf. *Sat.* i. 82, "quis totidem erexit villas"; Hor. *Od.* ii. 18, 19, "sepulchri immemor struis domos, marisque Baiis obstrepentis urges summovere litora"; and *Sat.* ii. 3, 308.

87. **Caietae,** on the Latian coast, not far from Formiae, where Cicero had a villa. It was said to have derived its name from the nurse of Aeneas, who died there. See Verg. *Aen.* vii. 2.

Tiburis. See *Sat.* iii. 192. Its modern name is Tivoli; it was at the north-eastern corner of Latium, on the Anio.

88. **Praenestinis in montibus,** a little to the S.E. of Tibur. Horace calls it "frigidum Praeneste." See also *Sat.* iii. 190.

89. **Graecis . . . marmoribus.** We have had Lacedaemonian marble mentioned in *Sat.* xi. 168. Marble was also got from Paros, Pentelicus in Attica, and Carystus in Euboea.

longeque petitis, from Numidia (*Sat.* vii. 182), and from Synnada in Phrygia, also from Egypt. For *longe*, conf. *Sat.* vii. 41.

90. **Fortunae atque Herculis aedem.** There was a very famous temple of Fortuna at Praeneste, which is no doubt referred to. The temple of Hercules was at Tibur. Conf. Mart. iv. 57, "Herculeos colles gelida vos vincite bruma, nunc Tiburtinis cedite frigoribus"; and 62, "Tibur in Herculeum."

91. **Capitolia nostra.** The plural is also used in *Sat.* x. 65. *nostra* implies the Roman Capitol, as opposed to the Capitols in other towns.

Posides was a freedman of Claudius, who gave his name to

some magnificent baths in the bay of Baiae, and who apparently built himself a very expensive house in Rome. Suet. *Claud.* 28.

92. **Dum.** Notice the idiomatic use of *dum* with the present tense, though the principal verb is in the perfect. Conf. *Sat.* i. 60.

94. **turbavit**, threw into confusion, *i.e.* spent. Conf. *Sat.* vii. 129, "sic Pedo conturbat."

6. **metuentem sabbata.** A great many Romans, especially among the lower orders, looked with great respect upon the Jewish observances. There were also a great many Roman proselytes. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 9, 68, "Memini bene, sed meliore tempore dicam: hodie tricesima sabbata: vin' tu curtis Iudaeis oppedere?" Ov. *Rem. Amor.* 219, "nec te peregrina moventur sabbata"; and Pers. v. 184, "labra moves tacitus, recutitaque sabbata palles." Conf. *Sat.* iii. 296; and vi. 159, "Observant ubi festa mero pede sabbata reges, et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis."

97. **nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant.** This was an idea prevalent amongst the Romans from the fact that there was no image or statue in the Jewish temple, while they raised their eyes to heaven in praying. Conf. Tac. *Hist.* v. 5, "Iudaei mente sola unumque numen intelligunt . . .; igitur nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sinunt." Prof. Mayor quotes Strabo, p. 761, *ἓν τοῦτο μόνον θεός, τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ὃ καλοῦμεν οὐρανόν.*

98. **nec distare putant humana carne suillam.** Conf. Tac. *Hist.* v. 4, "sue abstinent merito cladis qua ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat cui id animal obnoxium"; but see Leviticus, chap. xi.

99. **praeputia ponunt**, are circumcised, *i.e.* become real proselytes. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 5, says that the reason of this rite is "ut diversitate noscantur: transgressi in morem eorum (*i.e.* proselytes) idem usurpant, nec quidquam prius imbuuntur quam contemnere deos, exuere patriam," etc. Compare with this "Romanas soliti contemnere leges."

101. **ediscunt**, conf. line 124.

102. **arcano . . . volumine.** The Jews had no secret rites, though the heathens, not understanding their religion, thought them mysterious. Tacitus says, "Moyses quo sibi in posterum gentem firmaret novos ritus contrariosque ceteris mortalibus indidit."

103 **non monstrare vias** is in apposition to the object of *tradidit.* The part of the law referred to is probably Deut. vii., where the Jews are warned against allying themselves with

the nations of Canaan. Tacitus says, "misericordiam inter se, adversus alios omnes hostile odium exercent."

104. **quaesitum ad fontem**, etc. Conf. St. John, iv. 9, "How dost thou, being a Jew, ask to drink of me, which am a Samaritan? for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans."

108. **quoque** = *etiam*.

iubentur, are actually ordered, *i.e.* by their parents.

109. **Fallit enim**, etc. Conf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 25, "decipimur specie recti."

111. **frugi**. See note on *Sat.* iii. 167.

tamquam frugi laudetur avarus. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 2, 194, "quantum discordet parcus avaro."

112. **tutela**—abstract for concrete. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 1, 103, "rerum tutela mearum."

114. **Hesperidum serpens**—the dragon which guarded the golden apples in the garden of the Hesperides. See note on *Sat.* v. 152. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* iv. 484.

Ponticus—the serpent which watched the golden fleece in Colchis, and which was lulled to sleep by the charms of Medea.

115. **adquirendi artificem.** Some MSS. have *atque verendum*, which is probably a corruption; "a master in the art of making money."

116. **fabris**, dat. of advantage. They are compared to smiths, as if they forged their fortunes.

119. **ergo** is resumptive, = "Well, then, the father too."

animi felices. Conf. the expressions "aeger animi," "animi pendeo." It is not the same sort of gen. as "felices operum," quoted by Prof. Mayor, which is the gen. after an adjective of abounding.

122. **eidem incumbere sectae**, "to adhere to the same plan of life." Conf. *Sat.* viii. 76, "aliorum incumbere famae."

123. **vitiorum elementa**, "an alphabet of vice."

124. **sordes**, mean tricks; instances of these are in lines 126 *seq.*

126. **Servorum ventres**, etc. The rations of the slaves were served out to them either for the month (*menstrua*), or for the day (*diaria*). Conf. *Sat.* vii. 120, "Afrorum epimenia"; Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, 69; and see *Sat.* x. 101, where one of the duties of the municipal "potestas" is "vasa minora frangere."

127. **sustinet.** Notice its construction with the infin., "bear to consume." Conf. *Sat.* xv. 88.

129. **minutal**, a minced compound of meat, fish, and vegetables. See Mart. xi. 31.

medio . . . Septembri. Conf. note on *Sat.* iv. 56, "letifero autumno."

130. **cenae alterius**, the next day's dinner.

131. **conchem.** See *Sat.* iii. 293, "cuius conche tumes."

aestivam. *aestivam*, because the summer was the wrong season for it.

lacerti. The *lacertus* was a cheap and common kind of fish, often introduced in a simple meal. Conf. Mart. vii. 79, and x. 48, "secta coronabunt rutatos ova lacertos."

132. **signatam**, under lock and key, lit. sealed up.

dimidio, governed by *cum*.

siluro. See *Sat.* iv. 32.

133. **sectivi . . . porri.** On the two kinds of leek, see note to *Sat.* iii. 293, "sectile porrum."

numerata, he had counted every leek upon the string.

134. **aliquis de ponte.** See note on *Sat.* iv. 116, "dirusque a ponte satelles."

135. **quo divitias.** See note on *Sat.* viii. 9.

136. **phrenesis**, insanity.

137. **sacculus.** See *Sat.* xi. 27.

140. **paratur**, is bought. Conf. note on *Sat.* iii. 224.

143. **vicina seges**, one's neighbour's crop. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6, 8, "O si angulus ille proximus accedat."

arbusta, a vineyard. Conf. Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 10.

151. **iniuria**, a wrong like this.

venales . . . fecerit, "has put in the market."

152. **quam foedae buccina famae**, "how disgraceful a story will fame trumpet forth."

153. **Tunicam mihi malo lupini**, etc., "I would prefer a bean-pod to the praise of all my neighbours." So Juvenal says, *Sat.* i. 48, "Quid enim salvis infamia nummis?" and Hor. *Sat.* i. 1, 65 *seq.*, "populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo, ipse domi simul ac nummos contemplor in arca."

155. **secantem**—conditional participle, "if I reap."

156. **Scilicet**—ironical: then I suppose if you can despise common opinion, you will also be free from, etc. Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 2, 47.

159. **culti . . . agri**, *i.e.* ploughed land as opposed to pasture.

tantum . . . solus possederis . . . quantum, etc.—*i.e.* one of the *latifundia* of Juvenal's time would be as large as the whole domain of the primitive Romans.

160. **sub Tatio**—the Sabine monarch who became joint king with Romulus.

quantum sub Tatio, etc. Prof. Mayor quotes Sen. *de Ira*, i. 21, 2, "sub singulis vilicis latiores habet fines quam quos consules sortiebantur."

161. **fractis**, sc. *Quiritibus.*

162. **Pyrrhum immanem, gladiosque Molossos.** See on *Sat.* xii. 106.

163. **vix iugera bina,** "a bare two acres." This was the usual amount of land given to each colonist. The veterans frequently had their arrears of pay given to them in the form of land after they were "emeriti."

165. **meritis minor,** too small for their deserts.

166. **curta fides patriae.** Prof. Mayor translates, "a breach of faith on the part of their country."

saturabat. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 118.

167. **turbam casae,** their rustic families.

169. **vernula.** See notes on *Sat.* i. 26, v. 105, and x. 117.

170. **altera cena,** a second dinner, *i.e.* after the others had had theirs.

171. **pultibus.** Conf. *Sat.* xi. 58. *puls* was in early times the national food of Italy. So Varro says, "de victu antiquissima puls," and Pliny, *H. N.* xviii. 83, "pulte non pane vixisse longo tempore Romanos manifestum." Conf. also Mart. xiii. 8, "Imbue plebeias Clusinis pultibus ollas." It consisted of a kind of porridge made of *far.*

172. **modus hic,** *i.e.* "bina iugera."

nostro . . . horto, for the pleasure-gardens of to-day, *i.e.* such as those of Caesar or Maecenas or Lucullus.

173. **inde,** from this land-fever.

174. **miscuit,** gnomic perfect, and so legitimately coupled with a present.

ferro grassatur. Conf. *Sat.* iii. 305, "ferro grassator agit rem."

178. **properantis avari,** "of a man hasting to be rich." Conf. Verg. *Aen.* iii. 56, "Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames?"

180. **Marsus . . . Hernicus . . . Vestinus**—all peoples of the Sabellian stock, which was noted for its bravery and simplicity Conf. *Sat.* iii. 169, "mensamque Sabellam."

182. **numina ruris**—such as Ceres and Liber and Priapus.

183. **quorum ope et auxilio,** etc. Conf. Verg. *Georg.* i. 7, "Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus Chaoniam pingui

glandem mutavit arista"; and Ov. *Fast.* iv., "Prima Ceres, homine ad meliora alimenta vocato, mutavit glandes utiliore cibo."

185. **alto . . . perone**, a high rustic boot. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 690, "crudus pero"; and Pers. v. 102, "peronatus arator."

186. **qui summovet.** The antecedent is of course not *perone*, but the subject of *volet.*

187. **peregrina.** The best was the Tyrian; next to this ranked the Laconian and Tarentine.

188. **quaecunque est,** "whatever it may be." These are the words of the Sabellian elder who has never seen this corrupting purple.

190. **post finem autumni.** This would make the hardship of getting up in the middle of the night greater; or perhaps the winter months were those most given to study on account of the longer nights. Conf. Plin. *Ep.* iii. 5, 8, "lucubrare Vulcanalibus (*i.e.* Aug. 23) incipiebat, non auspicandi causa, sed studendi statim a nocte multa."

191. **Accipe ceras,** the *pugillares* or tablets of wax.

192. **rubras maiorum leges.** The first letters of the laws were written in red, and so "rubrica" sometimes stands alone for a law. Conf. Pers. v. 90, "Masuri rubrica."

193. **vitem**—the vine staff with which the centurion punished the soldiers, and so the centurionship. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 247. See note on vii. 89.

libello, in a petition.

194. **buxo,** with the comb, *i.e.* of boxwood. Persius speaks, iii. 77, "de gente hircosa centurionum."

195. **grandes miretur . . . alas,** probably an allusion to the rule introduced by Hadrian, Spart. *Hadr.* 10, "nulli vitem nisi robusto et bonae famae daret." Conf. also *Sat.* ii. 12, "hispida membra et durae per brachia setae promittunt atrocem animum."

Laelius is the general to whom the petition would be presented.

196. **Maurorum.** There was a rising in Mauritania at the beginning of Hadrian's reign, 117 A.D. Spart. *Hadr.* 12.

attegias, earth-huts, a word found elsewhere only in inscriptions.

Brigantum. The Brigantes occupied all the northern counties of England; their chief town was Eboracum (York). They also rebelled under Hadrian. *castella Brigantum* = forts erected against the Brigantes.

197. **locupletem aquilam.** This refers to the *primipilatus.* The first centurion of the first cohort had charge of the eagle of the legion. He was called *centurio primipili,* and on attaining this position was admitted into the *ordo equester.* Except in rare cases this was the highest post in the army which any one of the humbler classes could hope to attain. Conf. Mart. vi. 58, 10.

sexagesimus annus, *i.e.* of course of his age, not of his service. Twenty years was the usual period of military service; many, however, remained considerably longer.

199. **solvunt tibi . . . ventrem,** "make your heart melt within you." The bowels were considered the seat of fear as well as of pity. Conf. the use of σπλάγχνα in the Greek Testament.

200. **pares,** you may buy.

201. **pluris dimidio,** at more by half, *i.e.* at half as much again, or at 50 per cent profit.

mercis . . . ablegandae Tiberim ultra, "wares which must be banished beyond the Tiber." Tanning, the manufacture of sulphur matches, and other offensive trades, were carried on in the Transtiberine district. Conf. Mart. i. 42, "Transtiberinus ambulator qui pallentia sulphurata fractis permutat vitreis"; and vi. 93, "Non detracta cani Transtiberina cutis."

204. **lucri bonus est odor ex re qualibet.** Conf. the story of Vespasian in Suet. *Vesp.* 23, "reprehendenti filio Tito quod etiam urinae vectigal commentus esset, pecuniam ex prima pensione admovit ad nares, sciscitans num odore offenderetur."

206. **dis atque ipso Iove digna, poeta,** "worthy of the gods or Jove himself as its author." Conf. Sen. *Ep.* 19, 6; also *Sat.* iii. 143.

208. **repentibus,** crawling, *i.e.* too young to walk.

assae, dry nurses. The usual reading is "poscentibus assem," on which conf. *Sat.* v. 144, "assemque rogatum."

212. **meliorem praesto magistro,** "I warrant the pupil a better hand."

215. **Parcendum est teneris,** a parody on Verg. *Georg.* ii. 363.

nondum implevere medullas, "they are not yet full grown."

216. **naturae,** etc. The old reading was *maturae mala nequitiae,* going with the previous words.

217. **longae,** to it when grown.

cultri, razor.

219. **Cereris tangens aram.** Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 89, "quaecunque altaria tangunt"; and Hor. *Od.* iii. 2, 26, "vetabo qui Cereris sacrum vulgavit arcanae, sub isdem sit trabibus."

220. **Elatam**, carried out to burial.

limina vestra . . . subit. It was customary for the bride to be lifted over her husband's threshold, this being probably a survival from ancient times, when wives were forcibly carried off by their husbands.

223. **brevior via conferet illi**, he will gain by a shorter method, *i.e.* by his wife's murder.

228. **avaros**—used proleptically, "train up to avarice."

229. **et qui per fraudes**, etc. This is a very suspicious line, since the inf. after *producit* or even *praecepit* is doubtful Latin. I am inclined to think that Weidner in this one out of his many injudicious emendations has hit upon the right reading, "et qui per fraudes patrimonia conduplicandi dat libertatem," etc., omitting *et*.

230. **effundit habenas curriculo.** Conf. Verg. *Georg.* i. 514, "Fertur equis auriga nec audit currus habenas."

231. **quem,** *i.e.* the youth, not the chariot.

233. **satis credit**, thinks it enough, is satisfied.

234. **adeo**, etc., "so much more freedom do they give themselves."

235. **cum dicis iuveni, stultum,** "when you tell a youth that he is foolish who," etc.

237. **circumscribere**, to cheat. See notes on *Sat.* x. 222, and xv. 136.

239. **Deciorum.** On the Decii, who devoted themselves to the gods below for their country, see *Sat.* viii. 254.

240. **Menoeceus.** When the Seven came against Thebes, Calchas prophesied that Thebes would be saved if the last of the race of Cadmus should sacrifice himself for his city. Menoeceus, the son of Creon, accepted these conditions and saved his city. This is referred to in Eurip. *Phoen.* 913 *seq.*

si Graecia vera. Conf. *Sat.* x. 174, "et quidquid Graecia mendax audet in historia." He goes on to mention somewhat satirically the wonderful story of the warriors who sprang from the dragon's teeth.

241. **quorum.** The antecedent has to be supplied from *Thebas.*

dentibus anguis. The story of the crop of warriors who sprang from the teeth of the dragon which Cadmus slew, and then mutually killed one another, is told in Ovid, *Met.* iii. 104 *seq.* Conf. also Verg. *Georg.* ii. 140 *seq.*

243. **tubicen**, a trumpeter. Conf. the expression "ante tubas," *Sat.* i. 169.

246. **trepidumque magistrum**, his trembling keeper. Martial, *Spec.* x., alludes to a case in which a lion killed its keeper in the reign of Domitian—"Laeserat ingrato leo perfidus ore magistrum."

247. **cavea**, cage.

alumnus. See note on xi. 98.

248. **Nota mathematicis genesis tua,** "your nativity, you say, is known to the astrologers," *i.e.* the man disregards the warning contained in 246-7, because the astrologers have promised him a long life. Yes; but suppose, says Juvenal, your son will not wait for the fates to finish their web.

On *mathematicis* conf. *Sat.* iii. 43, and x. 94. They were also called *Chaldaei* and *astrologi.* See Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 22, who speaks of them as "genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur"; also *Ann.* ii. 32.

grave tardas exspectare colus. Conf. *Sat.* iii. 43, "funus promittere patris nec volo nec possum."

251. **torquet**, tortures. Conf. *Sat.* i. 9, "quas torqueat umbras Aeacus."

cervina senectus. Conf. Verg. *Ecl.* vii. 30, "vivacis cornua cervi"; and Cic. *Tuscul. Disp.* iii. 69, "Theophrastus moriens accusasse naturam dicitur quod cervis et cornicibus vitam diuturnam . . . dedisset."

252. **Archigenen.** See *Sat.* xiii. 98.

quod Mithridates composuit. Pliny speaks of a "Mithridaticum antidotum," an antidote compounded by Mithridates, king of Pontus, to guard against poison. Conf. Mart. v. 76, "Profecit poto Mithridates saepe veneno toxica ne possent saeva nocere sibi"; and *Sat.* vi. 660, "si praegustabit Atrides Pontica ter victi cautus medicamina regis."

253. **aliam decerpere ficum.** Conf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 7, 5, "dum ficus prima calorque designatorem decorat lictoribus atris."

254. **alias tractare rosas.** For the rose garlands used at banquets, see note on *Sat.* v. 36.

255. **et pater et rex,** a father like you and a king like Mithridates.

256. **voluptatem egregiam,** viz. the sight of avaricious men getting money.

257. **praetoris pulpita lauti.** See notes on *Sat.* x. 36 and *seq.*, and xi. 195.

258. **quanto capitis discrimine,** what peril to life.

constent, cost; usually with gen. or abl. of price.

259. **multus . . . fiscus**, a quantity of treasure.

260. **ad vigilem . . . Castora.** Conf. *Sat.* x. 25. The money-lenders and bankers had their tables in the Forum, near the temple of Castor, which, in common with other temples, was often used to keep money and other valuables in. So Herodian (i. 14, 3) says of the Temple of Peace, *πλουσιώτατον δὲ ἦν πάντων δι' ἀσφάλειαν, ἕκαστος δὲ ἃ εἶχεν ἐκεῖσε ἐθησαυρίζετο.* Conf. Cic. *pro Quinct.* 17, "nisi ad Castoris quaesisses quantum solveretur." Sentinels were posted round the temple of Castor; hence the epithet *vigilem.*

261. **Mars Ultor galeam quoque perdidit.** The temple of Mars Ultor was in the Forum Augusti. Allusion is made to some robbery from the temple, which induced people to transfer their money to some safer place.

262. **Florae.** The Floralia were held from April 28 to May 3. Great license prevailed, and the feast lasted far into the night, which was illuminated by lamps. Conf. Ov. *Fast.* v. 361 *seq.* The Floralia was the especial time for the representation of mimes; this is what *aulaea* refers to.

263. **Cereris.** The Cerealia were from April 12-19. See Tac. *Ann.* xv. 53. They consisted mainly of chariot-racing.

Cybeles. On the Megalesia, see note on *Sat.* xi. 184. They lasted from April 3-10.

265. **petauro.** The *petaurum* was either a spring-board or a wheel from which two performers hung, one on each side, and which they made to revolve, one climbing up and the other letting himself down alternately. Conf. Mart. ii. 86, "per graciles vias petauri invitum iubeas subire Ladan."

266. **rectum . . . funem**, the tight-rope. Conf. *Sat.* iii. 77, "schoenobates."

268. **Corycia . . . puppe.** Corycus was a seaport town in Cilicia, where a considerable trade grew up, especially in saffron, which is referred to in the "sacci olentis" in line 269. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 68, "Corycioque croco."

269. **perditus**, reckless.

sacci . . . olentis. A great deal of saffron was used in the theatres to produce an agreeable smell. Pipes were laid down throughout the building, and the liquid saffron was thrown out as from the jets of a fountain. Conf. Mart. v. 25, "rubro pulpita nimbo spargere, et effuso permaduisse croco," and also *id. Spec.* iii. 8, "Et Cilices nimbis hic maduere suis." These saffron fountains were called *sparsiones* and one or two inscriptions have been discovered on the walls at Pompeii, on which, after the notification of some theatrical performance,

the words are added, "sparsiones erunt." See Becker's *Gallus*, p. 48, note.

271. **passum**, raisin wine.

municipes Iovis, *i.e.* Cretan. Conf. *Sat.* iv. 33, "municipes siluros"; and Mart. v. 87, "Cadmi municipes lacernas."

272. **Hic**, *i.e.* the "schoenobates" of line 266.

274. **propter mille talenta**, etc., "to make up your thousand talents or your hundred villas."

275. **centum villas**. Conf. *Sat.* x. 225, "quot villas possideat nunc," etc.

276. **trabibus**. Conf. Hor. *Od.* i. 1, 13, "trabe Cypria."

plus hominum, *i.e.* more than on land.

278. **Carpathium**. The Carpathian Sea was between Rhodes and Crete.

Gaetula. The African Sea was dangerous on account of the Syrtes or sandbanks off the coast of Africa. The Gaetuli properly bordered on the Atlantic, but Juvenal evidently uses the word loosely, and intends it to be less and not more distant than Calpe.

279. **transiliet**. Conf. Hor. *Od.* i. 3, 24, "non tangenda rates transiliunt vada."

Calpe—Gibraltar.

280. **Herculeo . . . gurgite**. The Straits of Gibraltar were called Herculis Columnae, from the tradition that this was the extreme point to which Hercules penetrated. Hercules was originally a Phoenician deity, and there was a famous temple dedicated to him at Gades.

stridentem . . . solem, as if the sun, when it set, went down into the ocean with a hiss. Conf. Tac. *Germ.* 45.

281. **Grande operae pretium est**. Conf. *Sat.* xii. 127.

folle. Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 61, "cum tota aerugine follem."

282. **aluta**. In *Sat.* vii. 192 this word meant a shoe; here it means a leather purse.

283. **Oceani monstra**. Conf. Horace's "monstra natantia," *Od.* i. 3, 17.

iuvenes vidisse marinos, the Tritons and Nereids.

284. **Non unus mentes agitat furor**, *i.e.* there are different kinds of madness, and one kind is avarice. Conf. line 136.

Ille—Orestes, alluded to before in *Sat.* viii. 215 *seq.*

sororis in manibus—in the arms of Electra.

285. **vultu Eumenidum terretur**. Conf. "Furiis agitatus Orestes." For the Eumenides, see note on Erinys, *Sat.* vii. 68.

The Erinyes were worshipped at Athens, in the deme of Colonos, under the name of Eumenides, the "kindly goddesses."

286. **hic.** Ajax, son of Telamon, who, on being disappointed of the arms of Achilles, went out of his mind, and in the dead of night slaughtered the cattle which had been taken as booty (*bove percusso*), thinking that they were his enemies Odysseus and Agamemnon. Conf. Soph. *Ai.* 53 *seq.*

Ithacum. Conf. *Sat.* x. 257.

287. **Parcat tunicis licet,** "though he do not tear his clothes."

lacernis. See note on *Sat.* i. 27.

288. **curatoris.** The property of an insane man was transferred by the praetor to the charge of one of his *agnati*, who was called *curator*. Conf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 217, "interdicto huic omne adimat ius praetor et ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos."

289. **ad summum latus,** up to the very bulwarks.

tabula distinguitur unda. Conf. *Sat.* xii. 56.

291. **concisum argentum in titulos,** etc.—a mocking description of silver coins. The *facies minutas* are of course the emperors' heads.

292. **solvite funem,** weigh anchor.

295. **aestivum tonat,** 'tis only summer thunder.

297. **zonam,** the belt in which the purse was kept.

298. **modo,** but just now.

299. **Tagus.** Conf. *Sat.* iii. 55.

Pactolus, a river in Lydia. Conf. Hor. *Epod.* xv. 20, "tibique Pactolus fluat"; and Herod. v. 101.

302. **picta se tempestate tuetur.** See note on *Sat.* xii. 27.

305. **hamis,** fire-buckets. It was the duty of the seven *cohortes vigilum* to provide against fires in the city, but rich men naturally took their own precautions. See Tac. *Ann.* xv. 43.

306. **Licinus.** For Licinus, see note on *Sat.* i. 109.

307. **electro,** amber, probably in the form of drinking vessels. See note on *Sat.* v. 38.

Phrygiaque columna. Valuable marble was got from Synnada in Phrygia. The Italians now call it "pavonazetto." See also on line 89.

308. **testudine.** See note on *Sat.* xi. 94. Beds and couches were inlaid with tortoise-shell.

nudi . . . Cynici—Diogenes; "nudi" because the Cynics did not wear the *tunica*. See note on *Sat.* xiii. 122.

310. "Or even the old one soldered together with lead will hold good."

311. **Sensit Alexander**, etc.—a reference to the famous story of Alexander's visit to Diogenes in his tub.

313. **totum sibi posceret orbem.** Conf. *Sat.* x. 168, "Unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis."

315. **Nullum numen habes**, etc. The same line occurs in *Sat.* x. 365.

318. **in quantum** means no more than *quantum* which a prose writer would probably have used.

319. **Epicure.** For Epicurus, see note on *Sat.* xiii. 123.

320. **Socratici . . . penates.** Socrates was conspicuous by his frugal and even austere life. These three clauses form the subject of a sentence of which the predicate would be "is the sufficient measure for an income."

322. **Acribus**, over-strict.

323. **nostris de moribus**, the morals of to-day.

324. **bis septem ordinibus.** The fourteen front rows at the theatre were, by a law of Roscius Otho in 67 B.C., assigned to the members of the *ordo equester*, *i.e.* to those whose census amounted to 400,000 sesterces. Conf. notes on *Sat.* i. 106, iii. 155 and 159; and Hor. *Ep.* i. 1, 67.

326. **duos equites**, *i.e.* the census of two knights; concrete for abstract.

tertia quadringenta, a third 400,000; for **fac**, conf. *Sat.* xii. 50.

327. **implevi gremium.** Conf. *Sat.* vii. 215, "Quis gremio Enceladi . . . adfert?"

328. **Croesi.** See note on *Sat.* x. 274.

329. **divitiae Narcissi.** Narcissus was the favourite freedman of Claudius Caesar. His wealth was said to amount to 400,000,000 sesterces. See note on *Sat.* i. 109, "Pallante" and "Licinis." Narcissus was "ab epistulis," *i.e.* the imperial secretary. Suetonius, *Claud.* 28, mentions the saying that Claudius would have had money enough and to spare if he had been taken into partnership by his two freedmen.

330. **cuius paruit imperiis.** See note on *Sat.* x. 342. Claudius would probably have spared Messalina's life, even after her marriage with Silius, had not Narcissus taken the matter into his own hands. See Tac. *Ann.* xi. 37, "ni caedem eius Narcissus properavisset." During the reign of Claudius, 41-54 A.D., freedmen enjoyed more power and influence than at any other time.

SATIRE XV

On the authenticity of this Satire, see Introd. p. liii.

1. **qualia demens Aegyptus portenta colat.** Conf. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* iii. 39, "omne fere genus bestiarum consecrarunt Aegyptii." Conf. also *Tusc.* v. 78, "Aegyptiorum morem quis ignorat? quorum imbutae mentes pravitatis erroribus quamvis carnificinam prius subierint quam ibim aut aspidem aut faelem aut canem aut crocodilon violent."

2. **Crocodilon adorat.** Conf. Herod. ii. 69. The people round Thebes worshipped it; but those round Elephantine killed and ate it.

3. **saturam serpentibus ibin.** Conf. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* i. 39, "ibes maximam vim serpentium conficiunt." Herodotus, ii. 75, says that the ibis devoured the winged serpents which came from Arabia.

4. **cercopitheci**, long-tailed ape. Conf. Mart. xiv. 202.

5. **magicae . . . chordae.** Outside the ruins of Thebes there was (and still is) a colossal statue of Memnon, the Graecised form of Amenophis, the name of several Egyptian kings. To this king were ascribed by the Alexandrian writers the attributes as well as the name of Memnon, the son of Aurora and Tithonus, who was killed by Achilles before Troy. The statue was always believed to give forth one musical note at the dawn of each day, and Strabo, the geographer, declares that he heard it. Whether this was a trick of the priests to bring out the connection between Memnon and Aurora, or whether any scientific reason can be found for the phenomenon in the heat of the sun acting upon the chilled air in the crevices of the stone, has been much disputed. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 61, "Memnonis saxea effigies . . . vocalem sonum reddens"; and Strab. xvii. 1, 46.

dimidio. In Juvenal's time the statue was mutilated; it was afterwards restored by Septimius Severus. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 4, "dimidios Curios."

6. **centum . . . portis.** Conf. Hom. *Il.* ix. 381.

obruta. It had long since been in ruins, probably ever since the invasion of Cambyses. Strabo says of it, *νυνὶ δὲ κωμηδὸν συνοικεῖται.*

7. **aeluros.** Most MSS. have *caeruleos, P.* has *aeruleos*, but *aeluros* (*αἰλούρους*) is an almost certain emendation. Conf. Herod. ii. 66.

piscem fluminis. Herodotus, ii. 72, mentions the eel.

8. **canem.** Anubis, one of the Egyptian gods, was always represented with a dog's head.

nemo Dianam. They worship the dog, but not the mistress of the dogs, Artemis or Diana the huntress. Herodotus, however, ii. 59, identifies Diana with the Egyptian Bubastis.

9. **Porrum et cepe nefas violare.** Many of the Egyptians abstained from those vegetables, either because they regarded them as gods, as Pliny says, *H. N.* xix. 101, or because they grow when the moon is waning, as Aulus Gellius says, or because they promote thirst and tears, as Plutarch says, and so are unsuitable both to abstinence and feasts. Line 10 seems to show that Juvenal had in his mind the first reason. Conf. Herod. ii. 37.

11. **Lanatis animalibus abstinet.** Conf. Herod. ii. 42.

13. **carnibus humanis vesci licet.** Herodotus denies this, ii. 45. Diodorus, however, mentions one occasion of a famine in which the people, though they did not touch the sacred animals, did feed on one another.

15. **Alcinoo.** Alcinous, king of the Phaeacians, entertained Odysseus after his shipwreck, and at the feast in the evening listened to the adventures of his guest, among which was the escape from the cannibal Laestrygones and Cyclopes.

16. **moverat** — the pluperfect, to show how quickly his listeners lost patience at his tale.

aretalogus. The *aretalogi* were parasite philosophers, who entertained the company at feasts with their disquisitions on virtue or other kindred subjects. Suetonius (*Aug.* 74) says that Augustus used to employ them very often, "inter cenandum."

17. **dignum vera Charybdi,** worthy to be really swallowed down. Conf. "dignus vera cruce," *Sat.* viii. 188.

18. **Laestrygonas.** Conf. note on *Sat.* xiv. 20; and see Hom. *Od.* x. 81 *seq.*

19. **citius**—sooner than the story about the cannibals.

Scyllam. See Verg. *Aen.* iii. 684, and Hom. *Od.* xii. 59.

concurrentia saxa Cyaneis, "the rocks of the Cyaneae rushing together." Cyaneis is dative; equivalent in sense to a gen. These rocks were called Συμπληγάδες (συν πλήσσω) because they were supposed to dash against one another. They were also called Κυάνεαι, dark blue. Homer places them in Sicily; they are more often placed at the Bosphorus. Conf. Eur. *Med.* i., κυανέας Συμπληγάδας.

20. **plenos . . . tempestatibus utres.** Aeolus gave the winds to Odysseus confined in a leathern bag; his comrades however, to their own destruction, let them loose—*Od.* x. 19.

22. **grunnisse Elpenora.** Elpenor was one of the companions of Odysseus who were changed by the wand of Circe into swine. See Hom. *Od.* x. 552 *seq.*

23. **populum Phaeaca.** Conf. *Sat.* iv. 100, "Numidas ursos"; xi. 94, "in Oceano fluctu."

24. **merito**, sc. *dixisset.*

25. **Corcyraea . . . urna.** On *urna*, see note on *Sat.* xii. 44.

26. **sub teste**; so "sub iudice," *Sat.* vii. 13.

27. **nuper consule Iunco.** According to Borghesi's interpretation and reading of a military diploma found in Sardinia a L. Aemilius Iuncus was consul with Sex. Iulius Severus in October 127 A.D. Other MSS. have *Iunio*, which might be Q. Iunius Rusticus, consul in 119 A.D. *nuper* may imply that the Satire was written from five to ten years afterwards.

28. **super . . . moenia** = ἀνωτέρω τῶν τειχέων, *i.e.* farther up the country, farther south.

Copti. Coptos was north of Thebes and south of Tentyra. It communicated by important trade-routes with Berenice (Massowah) and Myos Hormos on the Red Sea.

29. **graviora cothurnis**, too horrible for tragedy. Conf. *Sat.* vii. 72.

30. **Pyrrha**, wife of Deucalion, and so *a Pyrrha* means "from the Deluge." Conf. *Sat.* i. 81, "ex quo Deucalion," etc.

syrmata, the tragic robe, from σύρω. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 229.

33. **inter finitimos.** Ombi and Tentyra were, however, nearly 100 miles apart, and had no fewer than five nomes between them. Mommsen, it is true, notices that the two places are mentioned together in the list of the chorographer of Ravenna.

36. **numina vicinorum odit uterque locus**, *e.g.* the people of Ombi worshipped the crocodile; the Tentyrites killed it. Diodorus Siculus relates that the ancient kings of Egypt purposely put up religious barriers between the different people in their kingdom, in order to prevent union against themselves.

39. **alterius populi**, *i.e.* the Ombites, who were holding the feast.

43. **pervigili toro**, because the revel lasted all night. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 158.

44. **septimus interdum**, etc., *i.e.* the feast often lasted for seven consecutive days and nights.

horrida sane Aegyptus, etc. "Egypt, it is true, is uncivilised, but in profligate luxury, as far as my own observation goes, its barbarous inhabitants do not yield to the infamous

Canopus." Egypt, being uncivilised, might be expected to be without the vices of civilisation. As a matter of fact, however, the native Egyptians are as luxurious and profligate as the Greek colonists of Canopus. For *horrida* used in a good sense, see *Sat.* x. 298, viii. 116, and vi. 10. Canopus was connected with Alexandria by a canal, on which there was a regular service of boats with all sorts of dissolute entertainments for the passengers (see Strabo, p. 801), hence the term *κανωβισμός*. Conf. *Sat.* vi. 84, "et mores urbis damnante Canopo," even Canopus condemning the profligacy of Rome; also i. 26.

45. **quantum ipse notavi.** This certainly implies that Juvenal had been to Egypt, whether as an exile or not. See Introduction, p. xxxi.

48. **Inde**, on the one side, *i.e.* among the Ombites.

49. **nigro tibicine**, with a black for their flute-player; abl. abs.

qualiacunque, all possible sorts of.

51. **hinc**, on the other side, *i.e.* the Tentyrites.

sonare = to be heard.

52. **haec** (*i.e.* iurgia) **tuba rixae.** Conf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 64, "iurgia primum, mox rixa"; and *Sat.* iii. 288, "prooemia rixae."

55. **toto certamine**, abstr. for concr., "among all the combatants." Conf. note on "spectacula," *Sat.* xi. 193.

57. **alias facies**, disfigured features.

61. **quo tot . . . milia.** On *quo* followed by an accusative, see note to *Sat.* viii. 9.

64. **domestica**, "appropriate to," "natural to"; perhaps a translation of the Greek *οἰκεῖος*. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 150, "iamque faces et saxa volant."

65. **nec hunc lapidem, quales**—*constructio ad sensum.* *hunc* has a generalising force. In line 67 it returns to the sing., "sed quem."

Turnus. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* xii. 896 *seq.* **Aiax.** Hom. *Il.* vii. 268.

66. **vel quo . . . pondere** = *vel hoc pondus quo. pondere* is attracted into the case of the relative. **Tydides.** *Il.* v. 304.

67. **dextrae illis dissimiles**, person compared with thing. Conf. note on "Isaeo torrentior," *Sat.* iii. 73.

69. **vivo iam decrescebat Homero.** Conf. Hom. *Il.* i. 271, where Nestor says, "*κείνοισι δ' ἂν οὔτις τῶν οἳ νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν ἐπιχθόνιοι μαχέοιτο.*"

72. **deverticulo**, digression, which begins at line 64.

postquam subsidiis aucti, etc. "After that the one side (*i.e.* the Ombites) strengthened by reinforcements dares to draw the sword, and to renew the battle with hostile arrows, pressing hard upon all those who inhabit Tentyra adjoining the shady palm-trees, as they turn their backs in swift flight; one on this side (*i.e.* the Tentyrites)," etc. *instans* agrees with *pars altera*; *qui vicina colunt* goes closely with *omnibus*; and *labitur* is the principal verb of the sentence. Bücheler puts a full stop at *palmae*, making *audet* the principal verb, and supplying *sunt* with *aucti*. The common reading, adopted by Prof. Mayor in his Third Edition, "praestant instantibus Ombis," is a conjecture only, not supported by MS. authority, and *Ombis* for *Ombitis* is a fatal objection to it. The reading in the text is that of the second hand in *P.*, the first hand being wanting after "praestan . . ." The sentence is awkward and cumbrous, but not ungrammatical.

77. **hinc**, on this side, *i.e.* from among the Tentyrites.

81. **victrix turba**, the Ombites.

82. **aut verubus.** *decoxit* which means "boiled," only goes with this by zeugma; understand "roasted."

84. **Hic gaudere libet**, an extremely awkward digression.

85. **Prometheus.** Conf. *Sat.* iv. 133. Juvenal has generally referred to him either as a potter or as the creator of mankind.

86. **elemento**, *i.e.* the fire. Conf. "elementa per omnia," *Sat.* xi. 14.

et te, a harsh translation from Volusius Bithynicus to Fire.

88. **sustinuit**, "has once had the heart." Conf. *Sat.* xiv. 127.

89. "For in so horrid a crime, lest you should doubt and inquire whether even the first cannibal (*i.e.* when excitement was at its height) felt any pleasure, I say even he who stood last, when the whole body was consumed, draws his fingers along the ground, and gets a taste of the blood." Juvenal is anxious to show that the crime was no exceptional deed of horror, wrought in the height of passion, but a habitual outrage, committed in cold blood by one after another and delighted in.

93. **Vascones.** The allusion is to the siege of Calagurris, belonging to the Vascones, who lived between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. The town had belonged to Sertorius, and was besieged by Pompeius and Metellus Pius. The defence was most obstinate, and Valerius Maximus, vii. 6, records the cannibalism mentioned by Juvenal (72 B.C.)

95. **bellorum ultima**, the extremities of war. Conf. *Sat.* xii. 55.

97. **Huius enim, quod nunc agitur,** etc., "for the present example of this sort of food (*i.e.* the instance of the Vascones) ought to be pitied."

98. **mihi,** dat. of the agent.

102. **esse parati,** prepared to eat.

104. **urbibus** is the reading of *P.* and is decidedly better than that of the other MSS., *viribus,* which can hardly mean "strong men," as Mr. Macleane thinks. *ventribus* is a conjecture.

105. **quibus**=*iis quibus.*

poterant ignoscere, "might have pardoned."

107. **Zenonis praecepta.** Zeno, 350-258 B.C., was the founder of the Stoic School, who taught that virtue was the only good, and that pain, misfortune, and even death, were to be preferred to vice.

nec enim omnia quidam, "for there are some who think that not all things are to be done for life." For a similar use of *quidam* in reference to a definite class of persons, conf. *Sat.* xii. 50.

108. **Cantaber.** The Vascones were not Cantabri really: Juvenal used the name loosely for Spaniards.

109. **antiqui . . . Metelli.** See above. Metellus is called "antiquus" simply in comparison with Juvenal's time, in which the Stoic doctrines had spread very widely among the aristocratic classes at Rome. Metellus was consul in 83 B.C., and triumphed over Spain in 71 B.C.

110. **Graias nostrasque Athenas,** "the Greek culture and our own." Greek civilisation, language, and literature, of which Athens was the type, was spread over all the eastern portion of the Empire, while the western provinces, especially Spain, Gaul, Africa, and Britain, were equally affected by the Latin civilisation. On Athens as the type of culture (conf. Thuc. ii. 42, τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσις) see Val. Max. ii. 1, 10, "quas Athenas, quam scholam, quae alienigena studia huic domesticae disciplinae praetulerim?" As Greek and Latin literature spread in the provinces, even the tribes of Hispania might be expected to know something of the Stoics.

habet, has access to.

111. **Gallia . . . facunda.** Conf. *Sat.* vii. 148, "Gallia vel nutrix causidicorum Africa."

causidicos docuit . . . Britannos. The British youth were very likely sent to the Gallic schools of Augustodunum or Lugdunum. Conf. Tac. *Agric.* 21; and Mart. xi. 3, "Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus."

112. **Thule**—called by Vergil, *Georg.* i. 30, "ultima Thule,"—has been variously placed in the Shetlands, in Iceland, and in Norway. It represents, at any rate, the extreme north.

113. **quem diximus**, *i.e.* the Vascones.

114. **Zacynthos**, or Saguntus, was south of the Ebro, and so not in the Roman portion of Spain; it was besieged by Hannibal in 219 B.C., and held out obstinately for eight months. Livy, who describes the siege, does not mention any instances of cannibalism, though other historians do. Liv. xxi. 8 *seq.*

115. **tale quid excusat**, has a similar excuse, or has a similar crime to excuse.

Maeotide . . . ara. The Palus Maeotis was at the mouth of the Tanais. The inhabitants were called Tauri, and their country the Tauric Chersonese. In the worship of the Tauric goddess, who is identified by the Greeks with Artemis, human victims were offered. See in *Classical Dict.* for the story of Iphigenia and her brother Orestes, as told in the play of Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris.*

116. **illa . . . Taurica**, the goddess.

117. **iam**, "for the moment." **carmina**—nom. case—"the poets."

120. **hos**, the Ombites.

122. **terra Memphitide sicca**, when the land was suffering from drought.

Anne aliam . . . invidiam facerent, etc. "Could they, when the land of Memphis was stricken with drought, cast any greater infamy on the Nile because of its unwillingness to rise?" If the Nile did not rise a famine would ensue, and any crime which the famine-struck people might commit would be a disgrace to the river which caused it; but famine could never give occasion to a greater crime than that of the Ombites.

124. **Brittones**, as Dürr points out, is the form usually found in military inscriptions and diplomata, whereas "Britanni" is usually found in literature. Martial (xi. 21) has "Britōnis."

125. **Sauromatae**, a Scythian tribe beyond the Tanais.

Agathyrsi—also Scythians. Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 146, calls them "picti," tattooed.

127. **fictilibus . . . phaselis.** The Egyptians made their river-boats sometimes of papyrus, sometimes of clay. Conf. Verg. *Georg.* iv. 287. The *phaselus* was properly the name of a bean, from resemblance to the shape of which these boats received their name.

128. **pictae . . . testae.** They were generally painted with gaudy colours.

134. **iubet**, she orders us.

causam dicentis, "of a friend who is pleading his cause." Other MSS. have *casum lugentis*.

135. **squalorem** refers to the signs of mourning, such as the torn black robe which defendants usually put on to excite pity.

rei. Not necessarily the same person as "amici," but any defendant.

pupillum. See note on *Sat.* i. 46, and x. 223.

136. **circumscriptorem.** See *Sat.* x. 222, and xiv. 237. The *circumscriptor* would be the fraudulent "tutor."

137. **faciunt incerta**, "disguise the sex of"; conf. Hor. *Od.* ii. 5, 21, "discrimen obscurum solutis crinibus ambiguoque vultu."

140. **minor igne rogi.** Young children were never burnt on the funeral pyre, but always buried.

face dignus arcana. During the Eleusinian mysteries in honour of Demeter, the initiated all marched with torches (δᾳδοῦχοι) from Athens to the temple of the goddess, and celebrated a midnight festival, accompanied by a torch race. Conf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 2, 25, "vetabo qui Cereris sacrum vulgavit arcanae," etc.; and see *Sat.* xiv. 218.

141. **qualem . . . vult esse sacerdos**, "such as the priest wishes him to be." Conf. *Sat.* vi. 50, "Paucae adeo Cereris vittas contingere dignae." The initiated were supposed to be free from all pollution and crime. Hadrian introduced an imitation of these rites into Rome, and some have thought that Juvenal is alluding to this here, but the subject was a commonplace, as the quotations collected by Prof. Mayor sufficiently prove.

142. **ulla aliena sibi credat mala.** Conf. Ter. *Haut.* i. 1, 25, "humani nil a me alienum puto."

143. **mutorum**, dumb animals.

venerabile, capable of veneration.

145. **capiendisque.** The reading in *P.* is doubtful, and possibly Weidner's conjecture, *tradendis*, *i.e.* teaching, is preferable.

147. **prona et terram spectantia.** Conf. Cic. *de Leg.* i. 22, "nam cum ceteros animantes Deus abiecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit"; and Ovid's *Met.* i. 84.

149. **animas**, life or breath. This would be the θρεπτικὴ ψυχή, which Aristotle speaks of as opposed to νοῦς.

151. **trahere** = συνοικίζειν.

migrare vetusto de nemore. Conf. *Sat.* xiii. 57, xiv. 184.

152. **proavis**—dat. of agent.

157. **defendier**—archaic form of *defendi.* Vergil also uses this form. Some explain the final syllable *er* by saying that it is a transposition of *se*, the reflexive pronoun, and therefore that it is really a middle form. Other archaic forms in Juvenal are *induperatur*, *duellum*, *robus.*

160. **cognatis maculis**, "its spotted kindred."

quando leoni, etc. Conf. Hor. *Epod.* vii. 11, "Neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus umquam nisi in dispar feris." It is not, however, true that wild animals spare their own species.

164. **inter se convenit**, "there is a mutual truce between."

166. **produxisse**, to have beaten out, *i.e.* on the forge. Vergil has "ocreas lento ducunt argento."

parum est, *i.e.* the use of the fatal sword is mild compared with such barbarities as cannibalism. Conf. Verg. *Georg.* ii. 539.

cum, although.

168. **extendere**=*producere.* Pliny has "extenditur malleo."

170. **sed . . . crediderint.** Supply *qui* from *quorum.*

173. **Pythagoras.** See note on *Sat.* iii. 229.

174. **indulsit.** See *supra*, line 148.

non omne legumen. Beans, *e.g.*, were strictly forbidden by Pythagoras to his followers for some secret reason. Horace affects to think that it was from the same reason as their refusal to eat animal flesh, and so speaks of "faba Pythagorae cognata," *Sat.* ii. 6, 63.

SATIRE XVI

2. **prospera castra**, a fortunate camp, or a lucky regiment or legion. Under the Empire the custom of having permanent camps in which the same legion was kept year after year was becoming more and more frequent, so that *castra* and *legio* might be used almost interchangeably. Or *prospera* may be proleptic, "with fortune's favour."

3. **excipiat**, optative, "I should like it to receive." Conf. *Sat.* vii. 194, "distat enim, quae sidera te excipiant," etc.; and ix. 93, "nam si tibi sidera cessant, nil facies."

porta. A Roman camp had four gates—*porta praetoria*, *porta decumana*, and two *portae principales* at the two sides.

4. **plus etenim fati valet hora.** Conf. *Sat.* vii. 200, "sidus et occulti miranda potentia fati."

6. **Samia . . . arena.** Junó had a famous temple at

Samos, mentioned by Herodotus, iii. 60. Conf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 15, "Quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam posthabita coluisse Samo."

7. **Commoda . . . communia**, *i.e.* common to both officers and common soldiers. Juvenal intended, no doubt, to deal with the particular advantage of particular classes afterwards, but the scheme if carried out is lost.

8. **ne**, after "haud minimum illud erit," is irregular. We should expect "quod non." Prof. Mayor says it is because there is involved the idea of preventing.

togatus, civilian. Conf. *Sat.* viii. 240.

9. **dissimulet**, "overlook it." *ut* must be supplied to this verb.

10. **excussos . . . dentes.** Conf. *Sat.* iii. 301.

praetori ostendere. The *praetor urbanus* would be the magistrate to whom a civilian would naturally appeal, but if the assailant were a soldier, the praetor would have to hand the case over to the *praefectus praetorio*, who again might entrust it, if comparatively insignificant, to a court of centurions.

11. **offam**, a bruise.

12. **relictum**—just left in the head, but without much hope of recovery.

13. **Bardaicus iudex datur**, etc. "A rough Illyrian is assigned as judge . . . all boot and huge calves at the massive benches." The Ἀρδιαῖοι or Οὐαρδιαῖοι were a tribe in Illyricum, called in Latin Bardiaei or Vardiaei. From these, for some reason, the rough soldier's boot seems to have derived its name. Conf. Mart. iv. 4, 5, "lassi vardaicus evocati," and no doubt Juvenal has this in mind here. Most editors take *Bardaicus calceus* together, "an Illyrian shoe (*i.e.* a centurion) is assigned as judge." This may be right, but it is somewhat harsh, and the separation of *Bardaicus* from *calceus* seems against this interpretation. For the epithets "grandes" and "magna," conf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 73, "magni quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti"; and see Tac. *Agric.* 9, "credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse quia castrensis iurisdictio securior et obtusior et plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exerceat."

15. **more Camilli.** L. Furius Camillus, dictator against Veii, during the siege introduced what was practically a standing army, not allowing the soldiers to leave the camp in order to spend the winter months at home. He seems to be taken as the founder of Rome's military system, as Numa was of the religious institutions. See Liv. v. 5, 2.

17. **Iustissima centurionum cognitio est.** This does not seem to be ironical. Juvenal says that probably it is really the

best arrangement for the centurion to act as judge in military cases, and he will punish his soldiers if they are in the wrong; but then the complainant has all the other soldiers to fear, who will manage to make him regret his victory.

19. **iustae . . . causa querelae**—gen. of definition: the complaint is the cause.

20. **Tota . . . cohors.** Each legion had ten cohorts, but the primary reference here is probably to the *cohortes praetoriae.* See line 25. *cohors* is often pronounced as a monosyllable. See especially Mart. iii. 58, 12, "vagatur omnis turba sordidae cohortis."

manipli. There were three *manipuli* in each cohort.

21. **curabilis ut sit,** "should stand in need of a remedy." All the verbals in *-bilis* may be either active or passive.

23. **mulino corde Vagelli.** Vagellius has been mentioned in *Sat.* xiii. 119. *mulino* here means obstinate, and so foolhardy. It would be a piece of rashness worthy of Vagellius to pursue an action against a soldier in the camp.

24. **caligas.** See note on *Sat.* iii. 322.

25. **clavorum.** *Sat.* iii. 248.

tam procul absit ab urbe. This is ironical, because the words below, "molem aggeris," show that Juvenal is speaking of the praetorian camp outside the *agger Servii,* so that the actual distance would be very small, though it serves a timid friend with an excuse. Conf. *Sat.* v. 153, viii. 43, and x. 95.

26. **Pylades.** The friendship of Pylades and Orestes was proverbial.

27. **se excusaturos,** who will be sure to make some excuse.

28. **non sollicitemus,** let us not importune. Notice the *non* used for *ne.* See *Sat.* iii. 54.

29. **Da testem,** produce your witness.

audeat . . . et credam, let him dare and I will believe. Conf. *Sat.* i. 155, "Pone Tigellinum, taeda lucebis in illa."

30. **pugnos qui vidit, dicere vidi.** Conf. *Sat.* vii. 13, "Hoc satius, quam si dicas sub iudice 'vidi,' quod non vidisti."

31. **barba dignumque capillis maiorum.** Conf. "barbato regi," *Sat.* iv. 103; and "capillato consule," *Sat.* v. 30.

33. **contra paganum.** The word *paganus* is often used by writers of the Silver Age for a civilian as opposed to the soldiery. Tac. *Hist.* i. 53, iii. 24; Plin. *ad Trai.* 86.

36. **sacramentorum.** *sacramentum* was the military oath taken by every soldier on being enlisted. The phrase generally used was "iurare in verba alicuius." The oath was to the effect that they would obey their general, and not leave the camp till the campaign was ended.

38. **sacrum saxum.** See Ov. *Fast.* ii. 639. Figures of the god Terminus, roughly cut in stone, were placed by the Romans at the boundaries of their fields. In honour of these a festival was held in February called *Terminalia.* Conf. Hor. *Epod.* ii. 59, "Vel agna festis caesa Terminalibus."

39. **annua,** *i.e.* in the Terminalia held in February.

40. **pergit non reddere,** "persists in not repaying."

41. **vana supervacui,** etc. The same line occurs in *Sat.* xiii. 137.

42. **exspectandus erit, qui lites incohet, annus,** etc., "a whole year will have to be waited for the beginning of the hearing of a whole nation's suits"; *a fortiori,* any individual suitor will probably have to wait much more than a year. *totius populi* is in opposition both to the military classes and to the individual suitor. Suetonius (*Vesp.* 10) speaks of the long delays in the court of the centumviri, dealing chiefly with wills, etc., "iudicia centumviralia quibus vix suffectura litigatorum aetas videbatur."

43. **tunc quoque,** even when the case is heard.

44. **subsellia tantum sternuntur.** Pliny, *Ep.* v. 9, gives an instance of the kind, "sedebant iudices, decemviri venerant, obversabantur advocati, silentium longum; tandem a praetore nuntius: dimittuntur centumviri."

45. **ponente lacernas,** because advocates in court were obliged to appear in the *toga.* The *lacernae* are in *Sat.* ix. 29 called "munimenta togae."

47. **lenta** is the emphatic word with reference to the "mille taedia" and "mille morae" above.

51. **testandi . . . ius,** the right of making a will. Sons who were "in manu patris" could legally possess no property of their own, though they were often allowed to hold a *peculium,* just as the slaves were. See note on *Sat.* iii. 189. They could therefore not dispose of any property by will as long as their father was alive. After the time of Augustus, however, this rule was relaxed in the case of soldiers, who were allowed to treat all property acquired by their military services ("castrense peculium quae sunt parta labore militiae") as their own, and accordingly to dispose of it by will. Prof. Mayor quotes Justin. *Instit.* ii. 12, "statim enim hi qui alieno iuri subiecti sunt, testamentum faciendi ius non habent . . . exceptis . . . militibus qui in potestate parentum sunt, quibus de eo, quod in castris adquisierint, permissum est ex constitutionibus principum testamentum facere."

53. **non esse in corpore census,** "should not be included in the paternal property."

54. **Coranum.** The name is taken from Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5, 57, "Captatorque dabit risus Nasica Corano."

56. **captat**, plays the legacy-hunter to—

favor aequus, impartial patronage. All the MSS. have *labor*, which, with *labori* in the next line, can hardly be right.

58. **Ipsius . . . ducis**, the emperor himself. Conf. *Sat.* vii. 21, "ducis indulgentia."

60. **phaleris.** Conf. *Sat.* xi. 103.

Line 60 is the last line of the last page of a quaternion in *P.*, which favours the view that the rest of the Satire has been lost, not left uncompleted

APPENDIX I

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE RARER WORDS IN JUVENAL

*** Those marked with an asterisk are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα.

abacus, a sort of sideboard on which plate was set out for show.

abolla, a cloak worn especially by philosophers (iii. 115), but also by senators (iv. 76) and kings.

aedicula, dim. of *aedes*. In viii. 111 it is a niche in the *atrium*, where a statue of a god was placed.

alapae, slaps; an onomatopoeic word, like murmur, whisper, roar, etc.

aliptes (ἀλείφω), lit. an anointer, and so a medical rubber.

anabathra, the tiers of seats in the theatre rising in a semicircle behind the orchestra.

Arabarches, a title given to the Governor of Thebais, one of the divisions of Egypt.

aretalogus, a parasite philosopher, engaged to entertain company at dinner by his disquisitions on virtue.

artopta, a bread-pan, used also by Plautus.

*attegia, a hut used by African tribes, found elsewhere only in inscriptions.

Bardaicus, an epithet possibly applied to *calceus*, the military boot; from the Bardiaei, from whom the shape was introduced.

bascauda, a British word, a basket.

*bratteola, dim. of *brattea*, a thin leaf of gold.

caballus, used in silver Latin for a horse. Conf. *cheval*, cavalry, etc.

cacoethes (κακοηθές), a medical term for an ulcerous disease: c. scribendi, an itch for writing.

cardiacus, a medical term; "with disordered stomach."

cercopithecus, a long-tailed monkey; used by Pliny.

Cerdo (κέρδος), properly an artisan; then in the Digest as a proper name for the lower classes.

*ceromaticus, anointed with the *ceroma*, a mixture of wax, oil, and clay.

chironomunta (χειρονομοῦντα), gesticulating.

conduplicare, to double; occurs in a suspicious line, xiv. 229.

cophinus, a small basket carried usually by Jews.

crepido, a raised footpath on which beggars took their stand.

crypta, usually a vault. In Juvenal it is a sewer-pipe.

cucurbita, a gourd, and then, from its shape, a cupping-glass.

cucullus, a hood fastened on to the *lacerna*.

decīdere, to cut a knot; and so to settle a dispute, come to terms.

defendier, archaic infinitive passive for *defendi*.

discursus, a running about, distraction, hurry and skurry.

diverticulum, a digression.

duellum, archaic form of *bellum*.

endromis, a thick woollen cloak worn by runners and athletes.

epimenia (ἐπιμήνια), monthly rations for slaves.

epirhedia (ἐπί, and a Gallic word *reda*), probably some kind of car or harness.

ergastula, prison-houses for the slaves who worked on the *latifundia*.

famelicus (fames), famished.

fanaticus (fanum), inspired by deity, especially by Bellona.

farrago, a mixture of corn given to cattle; then a medley of subjects.

ferculum (fericulum), a course at dinner.

ferula, properly a fennel stalk, then a rod.

*flammeolum, dim. of *flammeum*, a bridal veil.

*fornacula, dim. of *fornax*, a little stove.

fritillus, a dice-box.
frivola, trifles—paltry belongings.
fulcrum, the leg of a *triclinium*, often made of tortoise-shell.

galerus, a leather armlet worn by the *retiarius*.
genuinus (dens), a jaw-tooth, or grinder.

homuncio, dim. of *homo*.

induperator, archaic form of *imperator*.

*lividulus, dim. form of *lividus*, inclined to envy.

mango, a slave-dealer.
membrana, a skin prepared for writing ; and so parchment.
meritoria, hired apartments.
minutal, minced meat, hash.
miscellanea, the mixed food supplied to gladiators.
misellus, dim. form of *miser*.
mortaria, mortars in which drugs were prepared.
murrhina (vasa), vases made of red and white agate.

*naulum (*ναῦλον*), a boat or ship fare.
novicius, new, fresh, lately arrived.
nutricula, dim. of *nutrix*.

oenophorum (vas), a wine vessel.
opsonia (*ὀψώνιον*), lit. anything eaten with bread ; and so meat.
orexis (*ὄρεξις*), appetite.

palpare, to stroke, and so to soothe.
paropsis, a small square dish.
pegma (*πήγνυμι*), a wooden erection in theatres with rising and falling platforms.
pelamydes, young tunny-fish.
pergula, a booth or stall used by money-changers, barbers, painters.
*petasunculus, dim. of *petaso*, a small ham.

petaurum, a spring-board or wheel used by athletes.

*phaecasiati, white-slippered; see note on iii. 218.

phoenicopterus, a flamingo.

*pinnirapus, lit. a feather-snatcher; used of the *retiarius* who fought against the Samnite.

planipedes, barefooted; used of mimic actors who wore neither the *soccus* nor *cothurnus*.

popina (πέπω), an eating-house.

pragmatici, attorneys; men versed in the technicalities of law.

pulmentarium, anything eaten with bread. Conf. *opsonia*.

pygargus, a white-backed antelope.

pytisma (πύτισμα), the spitting out of wine after tasting it.

pyxis, a box for unguents or medicines.

quadrivium, a place where four roads meet.

rancidulus, dim. form of *rancidus*.

reda, a Gallic word used for a four-wheeled travelling carriage.

reticulum, dim. of *rete*, a little bag.

rhinoceros, a rhinoceros-horn used for oil.

sandapila, a cheap coffin provided by the *libitinarii* for the poor.

sarcinula, dim. of *sarcina*, a little baggage; and so the equipment, trousseau, fortune of a bride.

scalpere, to carve, and so to scratch.

scrofa, a brood-sow.

serracum, a heavy waggon.

sinciput (semi-caput), half a head; and so the head generally.

sponsio, betting.

sportula, lit. a little basket; then the food given in a basket to clients; lastly, the money dole.

stationes, clubs or lounging-places in the *forum*.

stemmata, lit. garlands connecting the *imagines* in the *atrium*; then used of the genealogy denoted thereby.

stlatarius, a doubtful word; *stlata* was perhaps a merchant-ship, in which case *stlatarius* would be "foreign" or "imported."

sufflamen, a drag-chain.

syrma (σύρω), a trailing robe worn in tragedy.

tessella, dim. of *tessera*, a small cube or die.

tibicen, a buttress, or flute-player.

tirunculus, dim. of *tiro*.

*trechedipna (*τρέχω δεῖπνον*), shoes worn by parasites.

triscurria, buffooneries.

urceolus, dim. of *urceus*, a little pitcher.

*velarium, perhaps for *velum;* an awning over the amphitheatre or theatre.

velificatus, sailed through; used in reference to the canal of Xerxes through Mount Athos.

ventilare, to wave backwards and forwards.

vervex, a wether sheep; used as a synonym for blockhead.

virguncula, dim. of *virgo*.

vulva, sow's udder.

zelotypus, jealous; in *Sat.* viii. 197, with *coniux* understood.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF DIMINUTIVES USED BY JUVENAL

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